

THE
THREE TEATHEDRALS
DEDICATED TO ST PAUL



LONDON

1962

1962
12/14

Thomas Longman

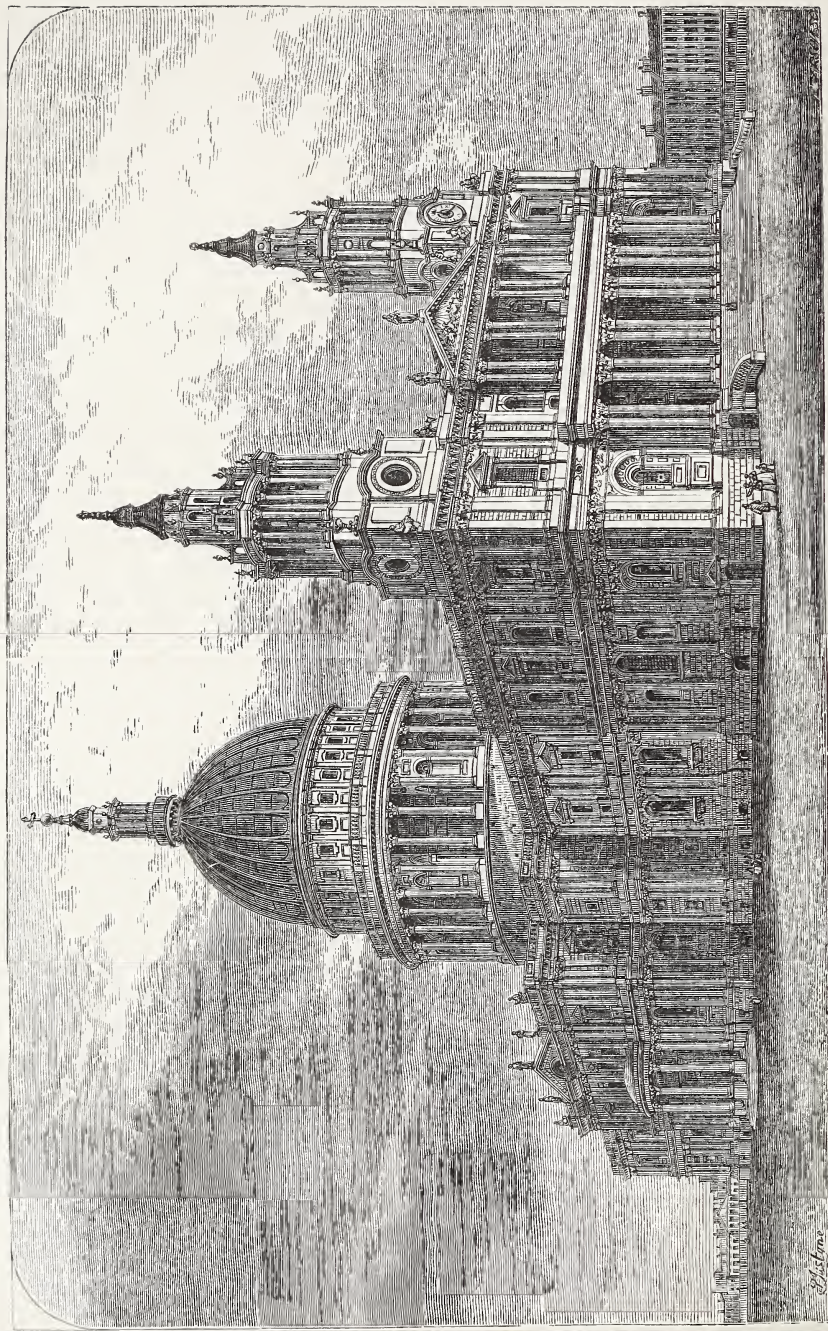
from

his affectionate brother

The author


A HISTORY
OF
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL,
LONDON.

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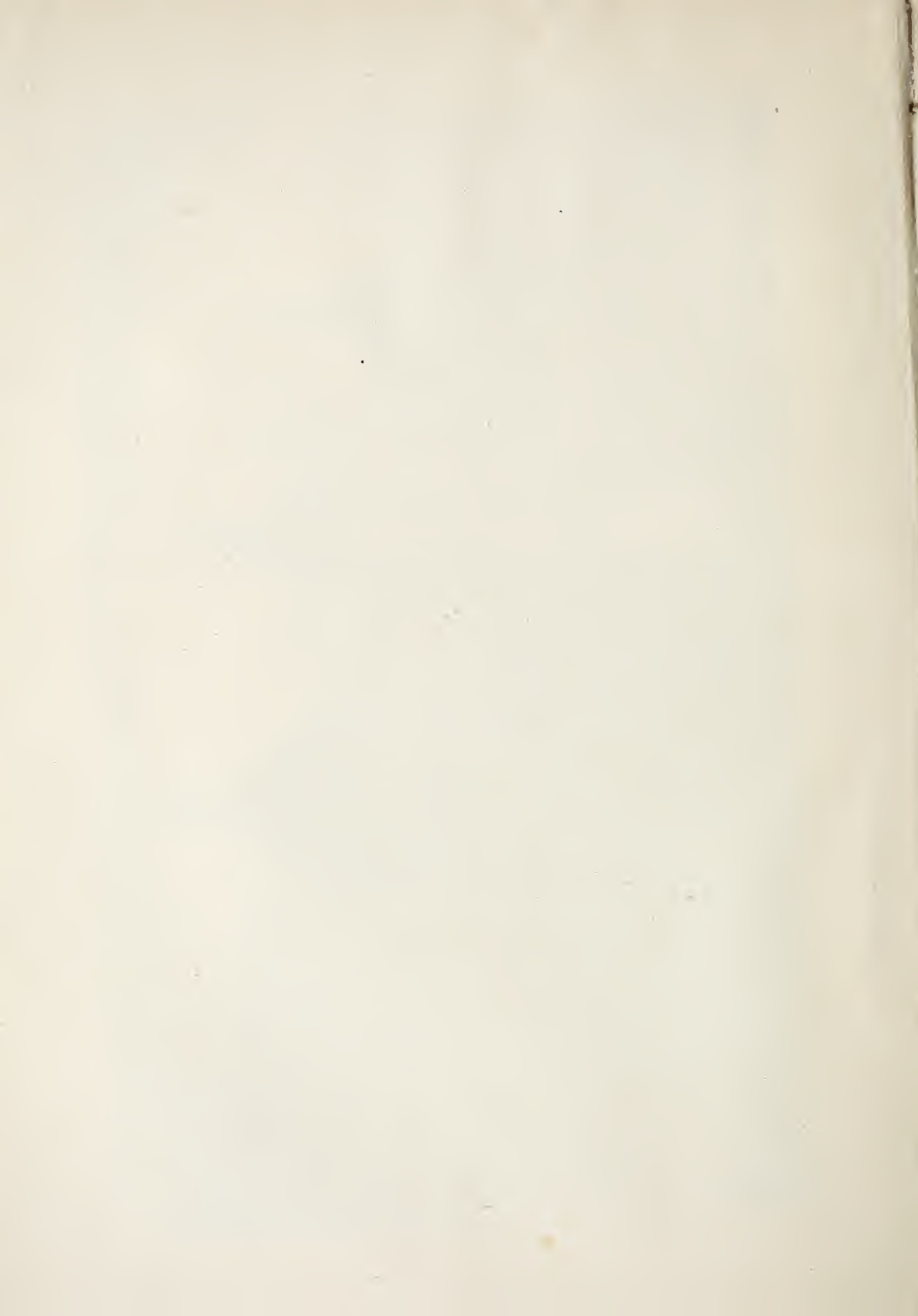
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

(From a print in the 'Gardner Collection.' Drawn by J. Buckler, F.S.A., and Engraved by G. Lewis.)



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A HISTORY
OF
THE THREE CATHEDRALS
DEDICATED TO
ST. PAUL
IN LONDON

WITH REFERENCE CHIEFLY TO THEIR
STRUCTURE AND ARCHITECTURE, AND THE SOURCES WHENCE
THE NECESSARY FUNDS WERE DERIVED.

BY
WILLIAM LONGMAN, F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE AND TIMES OF EDWARD THE THIRD':
CHAIRMAN OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE COMPLETION OF ST. PAUL'S.

WITH 6 ENGRAVINGS ON STEEL and NEARLY 50 WOODCUT ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1873.

PREFACE.

THE present HISTORY of ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL had its origin in the increased interest which I took in that building, in whose immediate neighbourhood I had spent a considerable portion of my life, when I became a member of the Committee for its 'Completion.' That interest was enhanced by the selection of St. Paul's, according to ancient custom, as the fit and proper place for a National Thanksgiving in the early spring of last year. When I began my labours, however, I had little intention of entering so deeply into architectural details, but the subject expanded as I went on with my work.

I could not have accomplished my task without the help of friends, and to Dean Milman's valuable 'Annals of St. Paul's' I am greatly indebted. It was that work which, in addition to its own rich store of knowledge, furnished the key to other sources of information. It is hardly necessary to say that I have no idea of attempting any rivalry with that important volume. My aim is different. It has been my wish to furnish a more particular account of the cost and of the building of Old and New St. Paul's than fell in with the scope of Dean Milman's work, and more minute details as to their architecture grew naturally out of the object I had thus set before me.

In thanking the various friends who have assisted me, I must assign the first place to Mr. EDMUND B. FERREY, whose restorations of Old St. Paul's give, as I believe, a value to my book, to which it could not otherwise pretend. I have also to thank Mr. PENROSE, Mr. COCKERELL, and Mr. WYATT PAPWORTH for much help, and for many valuable suggestions.

For many of the illustrations of Old and Modern St. Paul's I am indebted to Mr. GARDNER, of Park House, St. John's Wood, whose remarkable collection of prints and drawings of London has been most liberally placed at my disposal.

For the interesting composition of the interior of Wren's second design for St. Paul's—that of the 'Kensington model'—I am indebted to Mr. J. E. GOODCHILD. Lastly, I must thank Mr. PEARSON for the kind zeal he has shown in superintending the engravings on wood, and Mr. ADLARD for his careful reproductions of Mr. FERREY's restorations of Old St. Paul's.

In conclusion, I wish to state that, although I have the honour of being Chairman of the Finance Committee for the Completion of St. Paul's, my work has no official character, and I alone am responsible for the facts and opinions expressed in these pages.

LONDON: *May* 1873.

*I have to thank the Warden and Fellows of
All Souls' College, Oxford, for their kind permission
to publish the Copies of Sir Christopher Wren's
Original Drawings which are included in this book.*

W. L.

June 1873.

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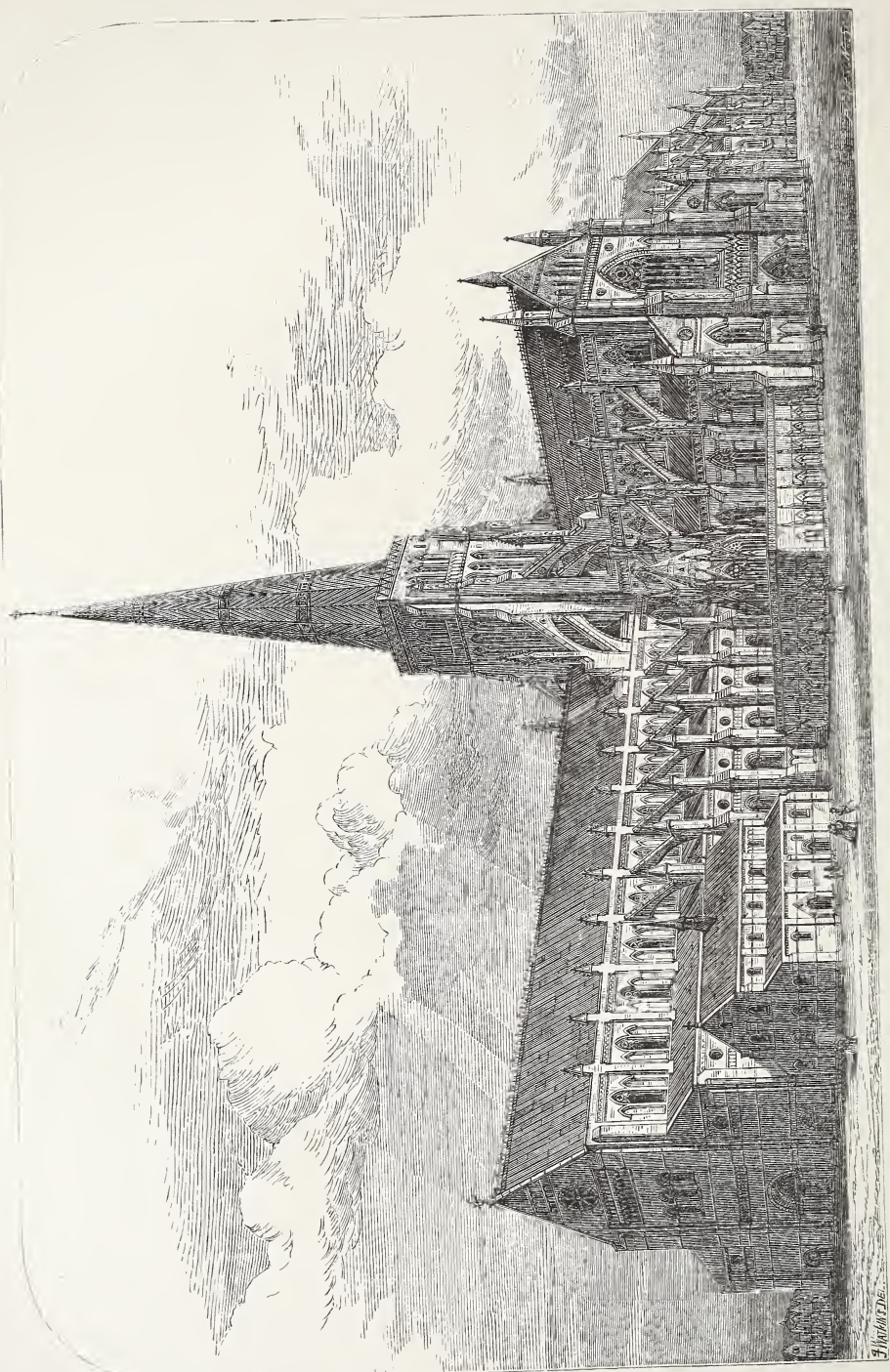
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CHAPTER I.

THE BUILDING OF THE FIRST AND SECOND CATHEDRALS,
AND THE MODE OF RAISING FUNDS FOR THEIR COST.



SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF OLD ST. PAUL'S

(Supposed to be taken from present Doctors' Commons).

(Compiled by F. Watkins, from drawings by E. B. Ferrey, Architect.)

CHAPTER I.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH of ST. PAUL, in the City of London, is, from its associations and the uses to which it has been put, more emphatically the National Cathedral of Great Britain than any other in this island, and a history of its fabric may therefore lay claim to national interest.

CHAP.
I.
St. Paul's
the Na-
tional Ca-
thedral.

Although, before the building of the present church, two Cathedrals, dedicated to St. Paul, each rising, Phoenix-like,¹ from the ashes of its predecessor, have successively stood on its site, it is impossible not to feel that there is a unity in the three, and in relating their history it seems quite natural to consider them as one Cathedral. Viewed in this light, the history of St. Paul's Cathedral is not a little remarkable. A singular fatality seems to have awaited it. Destruction, or at least injury to such an extent that destruction seemed inevitable, has befallen it no less than five times. This fatality is the more striking when it appears that fire—and on two occasions fire from heaven—was always the enemy from whose attacks it suffered.

Three Ca-
thedrals.

Singular
fatality at-
tending
them.

A temple, built by the Romans, and dedicated to Diana, once existed on the spot where a Christian Cathedral has now stood for twelve centuries. At the beginning of the seventh century, the Pagan temple, all traces of which had, without doubt, long disappeared, was replaced by a Christian Church, attached

First Ca-
thedral.

¹ 'Out of whose Ashes this Phoenix (new St. Paul's) is risen.'—*Evelyn's translation of De Chambray's Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern*, fol. 1707, 2nd edit. See Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 276.

CHAP.

I.

Founded
about A.D.
597.

Destroyed
by fire A.D.
1087 or
1088.

to a monastery founded by Ethelbert, King of Kent, during the time that Melitus, the companion of St. Augustine, was Bishop of London. He dedicated the monastery to St. Paul,¹ and endowed it with the manor of Tillingham in Essex,² which—the only piece of land once belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral which has not been swallowed up in the mass of property placed under the administration of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners—still furnishes part of the fund for the repairs of the fabric of the present Cathedral. Of this Church no record whatever remains. It lasted for nearly five centuries, and was then destroyed by a fire which devastated London 'in the time of the Conqueror's reign.'³

The next Church, or Cathedral, of St. Paul remained

¹ Dugdale, p. 3. 'The edition of 1720 is always referred to unless Ellis' is specially mentioned.

² 'Ædelbertus Rex, Deo inspirante, pro animæ suæ remedio, dedit Episcopo *Melito* terram quæ appellatur *Tillingeham*, ad monasterii sui solatium, scilicet, S. Pauli; et ego Rex Ædelbertus ita firmiter concedo tibi præsul *Melito* potestatem ejus habendi et possidendi, ut in perpetuum,' &c., &c. Stow's *London*, vol. i. p. 638.

³ Dugdale, p. 6. Dean Milman (pp. 21, 22) says that the fire happened in 1087, and in a note adds, 'according to another authority, 1088.' But Dugdale (p. 6) says 'he (Bishop Maurice) in 1083 began the foundation of a most magnificent pile,' to replace that which was burnt; and Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, Francofurti, 1601, p. 229) says, 'Anno Gratiae 1083. Eodem anno Mauricius Episcopus London. templum maximum quod necdum (circa 1307 ?) perfectum est incepit.' On the other hand, Roger of Wendover (Edition of *English Historical Society*, 1841, vol. ii. p. 27) says 'Anno Domini 1087 rex Anglorum Willelmus (if this is a correct statement, it is *William Rufus* of whom Roger is speaking) in natali Domini curiam suam apud Gloverniam tenens, tribus capellanis suis, Mauritio scilicet Londoniensem . . . dedit præsulatum.' But the editor adds in a note, 'According to the Saxon Chronicle, these bishops received their appointments in 1085.' Wilkins, i. p. 368. There can be but little doubt that it was Bishop Maurice who laid the foundation stone, but this can hardly have taken place before 1085, as that is the earliest date named for his appointment as Bishop of London. As to the date of the fire, I take Dean Milman (p. 21) as my authority, but he gives no reference to the authority on which his statement is founded.

standing until destroyed by the fire of 1666. It was begun by Maurice, Bishop of London, in 1087, the last year of the reign of William the Conqueror, who contributed towards its structure 'the ruins of that strong castle then called the Palatine Tower, which stood on the west part of the city, towards that little river of Fleet,' then a navigable stream. This castle was built 'in the place where Robert Kilwarby, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, erected that House of Dominicans, which is still very well known by the name of Black Friars,'¹ and probably for the defence of the Fleet. Part of the stone of which the Cathedral was built was, however, 'fetched from Caen in Normandy.'² William of Malmesbury,³ who, as Dean Milman says, must have seen the splendid buildings erected in Normandy by the Conqueror, describes it as a magnificent structure, and Hollar's engravings of it, as it existed just before the Great Fire, justify his description, although in Hollar's time the Cathedral was not exactly in the state in which William of Malmesbury saw it. Hollar's plates clearly, however, did not represent the Cathedral even as it existed in his time with perfect accuracy, and the representations of Old St. Paul's which accompany this history are attempts to bring that building before the eye with more exactness, and in the state in which it probably appeared about the middle of the sixteenth century before it was partially Italianised. They are by Mr. Edmund B. Ferrey.⁴

CHAP.
I.

Second Cathedral,
founded
A.D. 1087
or 1088.

¹ Dugdale, p. 6.

² Stow's *London*, vol. i. p. 638.

³ P. 22. 'Tanta est decoris magnificentia, ut merito inter preclara numeretur ediffitia. Tanta criptæ laxitas, tanta superioris ædis capacitas, ut quamlibet confertæ multitudini videatur posse sufficere.' William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Pontificum*, lib. ii. p. 145. (Edition published by authority of the Master of the Rolls.)

⁴ See note to contents of Chap. III.

CHAP.

I.

Progress of
building
very slow.

The progress of building must have been very slow, for, as Dean Milman says,¹ 'The episcopate of Bishop Maurice, though it lasted twenty years, saw hardly more than the foundations and the commencement of the great edifice; neither does it seem to have been completed during the episcopacy of his successor, Bishop Belmeis, who also ruled for twenty years.' Seven years after his death the Cathedral was nearly destroyed by the usual fatality of fire. 'It had great hurt by a dreadful fire, in the very first year of King Stephen's reign (A.D. 1136), which began at London Bridge and raged as far as the Church of the Danes.'² According to Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster,³ the Cathedral was totally destroyed; but, although this is in all probability a great exaggeration, there can be no doubt that serious injury was inflicted on it, and, even supposing that total reconstruction was not required, its progress must have been materially delayed.

Nearly destroyed by
fire A.D.
1136.

Its plan
altered.

Nearly two hundred years, from the time of its foundation, elapsed before the structure was completely finished, and the plan on which it was originally built came in time to be considered unsatisfactory. 'The Quire was not thought beautiful enough, though in uniformity of building it suited with the Church, so that, resolving to make a better, they began with the steeple, which was finished in A.D. 1221, and then going on with the Quire, according to the like

Quire
rebuilt in
A.D. 1210.

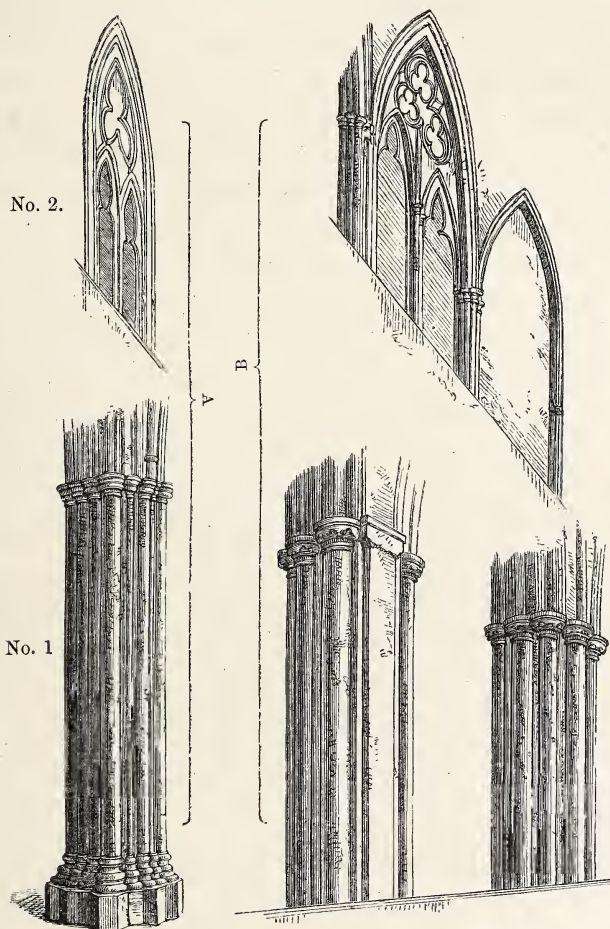
¹ P. 23.

² Dugdale, p. 7.

³ Matthew of Westminster. *Flores Historiarum*, p. 242. 'Anno Gratiae 1135. Eodem anno, Ecclesia Sancti Pauli combusta est igne, qui accensus fuit ad pontem London. et perrexit ad Ecclesiam Danorum.' 'Ecclesia quoque Sancti Pauli Londiniensis eodem anno (1136) ab igne, qui accensus est ad pontem, est combusta qui debacchando perrexit usque ad ecclesiam Danorum.' Matt. Paris, *Hist. Ang.*, edited by Sir F. Madden. London, 1866, vol. i. p. 253.

form of architecture, perfected it in A.D. 1240.¹ Although to the eyes of the superficial observer the architecture of the Choir² appears to be all of the same

CHAP.
I.



CLUSTERED PILLARS (No. 1) AND TRIFORIUM ARCADE (No. 2).

date, yet a closer scrutiny at once makes evident marked differences in the details; for example, in the variations in

¹ Dugdale, p. 12.

² These observations apply to Hollar's plates, from which the details in the annexed woodcuts are copied.

CHAP.

I.

the clustered pillars ; in their capitals, and still more evidently in the tracery of the Triforium Arcade. The wide bay¹ probably marks the junction between the first portion (the 'Choir' proper²), commenced in 1222, and the compartments added eastward of it in 1255.³

The necessary repairs of the rest of the building must have made but little progress, being hindered seemingly by tempests, for in 1255, one hundred and twenty years after the fire, the Bishop of London issued 'letters hortatory, to stir up the people to liberal contributions, because that the Church of St. Paul was in time past so shattered by tempests, that the whole roof thereof seemed very ruinous.'⁴ In consequence of this appeal, either the roof of the old structure was made new, or substantially repaired about this time, and the Cathedral, as Dugdale says, was then lengthened eastward 'by the whole extent of that which now bears the name of St. Faith's Church,'⁵ which was, consequently, at that time pulled down.

Sir Christopher Wren found traces of this alteration when he was making preparations for the new Cathedral. As his grandson says, 'Upon demolishing the ruins, after the last fire, and searching the foundations of this Quire, the surveyor (Wren) discovered nine wells in a row, which no doubt had anciently belonged to a street of houses that lay aslope from the High Street (then Watling Street) to the Roman Causeway (now Cheapside), and this street, which was taken away to make room for the new Quire, came so near to the old Presbyterium that the Church could not extend farther that way at first.'⁶ It was probably also about this

Cathedral
lengthened
in A.D.
1255.

Old Street
demo-
lished for
this pur-
pose.

¹ See plate of ground plan.

² B in preceding illustration.

³ A in preceding illustration.

⁴ Dugdale, p. 14.

⁵ Ibid. p. 14.

⁶ *Parentalia*, p. 272.



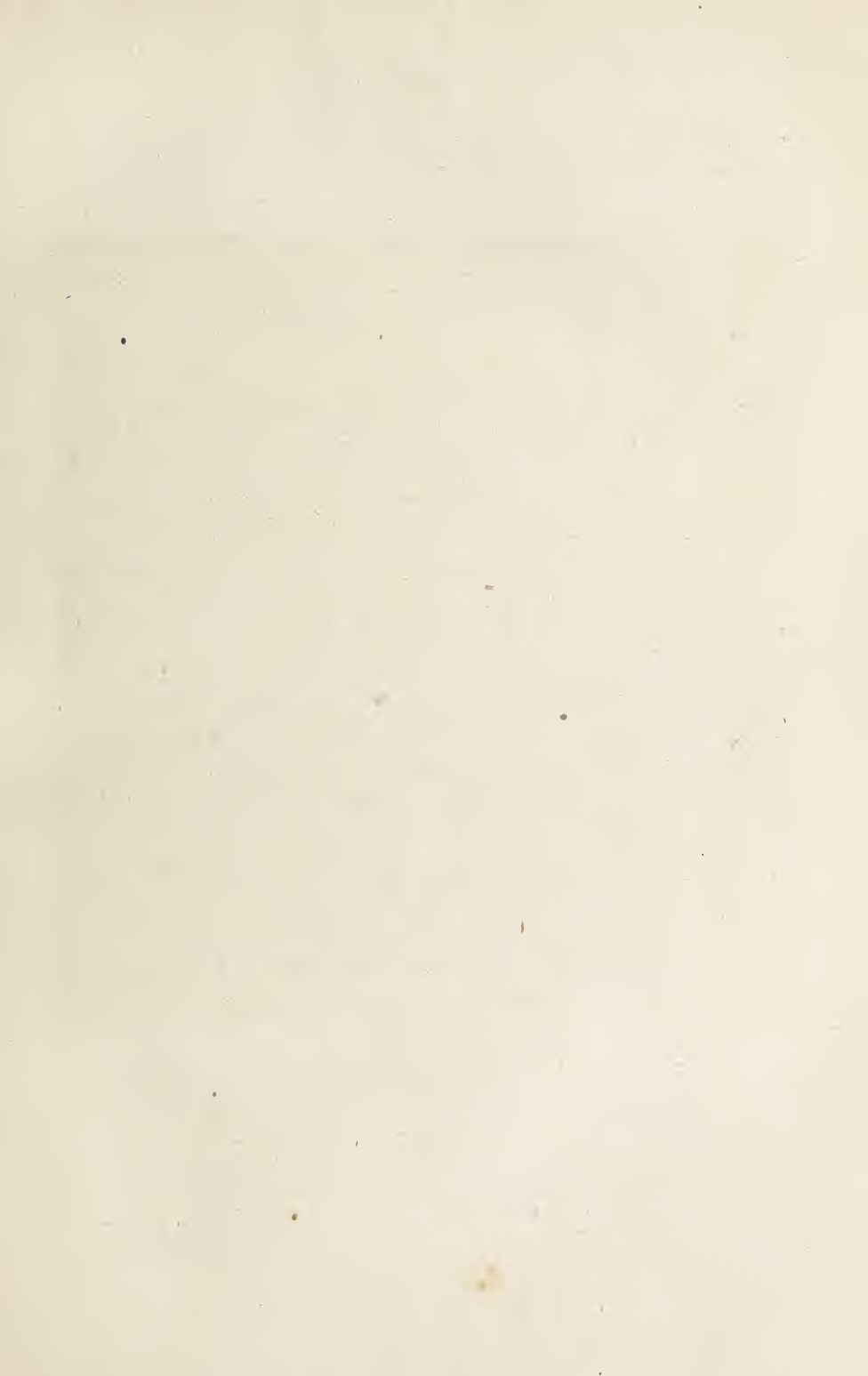
INTERIOR OF THE NAVE OF OLD ST. PAUL'S.

(From a print in the 'Gardner Collection,' after Hollar.)

Description on original print.

NAVIS ECCLESIE CATHEDRALIS S. PAVLI. PROSPECTVS INTERIOR.

Sit rediviva mater Ecclesia, et pereant Sacrilegi ut navis Ecclesie temporum fluctibus immerfura salutaribus Dei auspicijs conservetur. Majorum pietatem imitando mirentur posterius, ut stupenda hæc Basilica antiquitus fundata, et jamjam collapsura tanquam sacrum Religionis Christianæ Monumentum in æternum sufflaminetur.



time that the old Norman walls and piers received the casing which Wren, in his report to the Commissioners after the Great Fire, so strongly reprobated.¹ The following curious extract from Pepys probably alludes to this:—‘It is pretty here to see how the late Church was but a case wrought over the old Church. You may see the very old pillars standing whole within the walls of this.’

CHAP.

I.

At length, about the year 1283, the Cathedral must have been nearly completed, for, as Dugdale says,² ‘about this time it seems that the main brunt was over.’ The pavement of what was called ‘The New Work,’³ viz., East from the Steeple, ‘made of good and firm marble which cost 5*d.* the foot,’⁴ was laid down in 1312, and ‘within three years afterwards a great part of the Spire of timber, covered with lead, being weak and in danger of falling, was taken down, and a new Cross, with a pommel, large enough to contain ten bushels of corn, well gilt, set on the top thereof by Gilbert de Segrave, then Bishop of London, with great and solemn procession, and relics of saints were placed within it.’⁵ This lofty and most magnificent spire rose from the centre of a great stone tower. According to Wren’s measurements before the Great Fire, the tower was 260 feet in height, the basis of the spire 40 feet, and he adds, ‘therefore, according to the usual proportions of spires in Gothick fabricks,

Completed about A.D. 1283.

Description of the magnificent spire of Old St. Paul’s.

¹ The Nave of Winchester is a similar piece of incasing. In Gloucester this work was begun in the Nave and carried through two bays at the west end: in the Choir the restorers contented themselves with leaving the fabric, and covering it over with a net-work of perpendicular tracery.

² Dugdale, p. 15.

³ Ibid. p. 15.

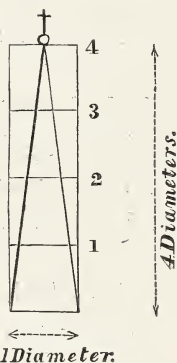
⁴ About 16*d.* of our money. See *Lectures on Hist. Eng.*, by W. Longman, vol. i. p. 418.

⁵ Dugdale, pp. 16 and 17.

CHAP.

I.

which was four diameters, or five at most, it could rise no higher than 200 feet, and make the whole altitude not to exceed 460 feet to the Ball of copper gilt and Cross, upon which after the first fire by lightning was added a Weathercock representing an Eagle,



of copper gilt likewise. The Ball was in circumference 9 feet 1 inch ; the height of the Cross from the Ball 15 feet 6 inches, and its traverse 5 feet 10 inches. The Eagle from the bill to the tail 4 feet, the breadth over the wings 3 feet and a half.¹ Wren's measurement makes the steeple considerably less in height than that given by Stow and Dugdale,² but probably it is more correct, and even according to Wren's re-

duced estimate, the height exceeded that of the spire of Salisbury Cathedral by nearly fifty feet.

The way in which the funds were raised.

Notwithstanding that the 'good people' contributed 'most willingly,' there seems to have been greater difficulty in raising funds for the building than has been felt in connexion with the recent efforts to provide means for 'the completion of St. Paul's,' although Scotland and Ireland as well as England were then laid under contribution. 'I shall now,' says Dugdale, 'demonstrate how most of the charge in carrying on so great a work became supported, which, in brief, was by the bounty of good people, throughout both the realms of England and Ireland, whose fervent devotion to the advancement of God's service incited them most willingly to further all works of this nature.'³ The 'bounty of the good

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 274.

² Ellis' edition of Dugdale, p. 11.

³ Dugdale, pp. 12, 13.

people ' was stirred up by letters of indulgence, ' and that this was the way by which they herein proceeded to raise monies, the sundry letters of the several Bishops of both nations to the Clergy under their charge, for recommendation of the business to their particular congregations, is most evident; a multitude whereof I have seen and read:¹ by which letters there are indulgencies extending to a certain number of days for such penance as they had injunction to perform, granted to all those as, being truly sorry for their sins, and confessed, should afford their helps towards this pious work.' No stone was left unturned to induce people to contribute, and even those who, without contributing themselves, persuaded others to do so were granted indulgences. ' Nay, not only the contributors to this glorious structure were thus favoured, but the solicitors for contributions and the very mechanicks themselves who laboured therein.'²

No accounts remain of the amount of money thus raised, nor of the cost of the Cathedral.

¹ A whole boxful of these is still preserved in the library of St. Paul's, of which I may say with Dugdale 'a multitude I have seen'—but not read.

² Dugdale, p. 15.

CHAPTER II.

THE SURROUNDINGS AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF OLD
ST. PAUL'S—WREN'S REMARKS ON ITS ARCHITECTURE
AND CONSTRUCTION.

CHAPTER II.

OLD ST. PAUL'S was anciently encompassed by a wall —originally built in the ditch of the Palatine Tower by permission of Henry the First,¹—which extended from the North-eastern corner of Ave Maria Lane, eastward along Paternoster Row to the end of Old Change in Cheapside, whence it ran southward to Carter Lane, and thence to Creed Lane and Ludgate Street on the West. In the Cathedral wall were six gate-houses: the principal one stood in Ludgate Street, near the end of Creed Lane, opening on the Western front of the Cathedral; the second was in Paternoster Row at Paul's Alley; the third at Canon Alley; the fourth, called the Little gate, was an entrance from Cheapside; the fifth, or St. Augustine's gate, led from Watling Street into the Cathedral precinct by a street called High Street, which was considered to be the King's Highway; and the sixth gate-house fronted the Southern porch of the Church, near what is now called Paul's Chain, from the ponderous chain which once hung across this passage to the entrance. The Bishop's Palace stood at the North-western corner of the Churchyard,² and the Chapter House—built in 1332—which was of very small dimensions, being only 32 feet 6 inches in internal diameter, was 'on the South side of the body of the Church,' in the very centre of the cloister-garth,' on the site of the garden belonging to the

CHAP.
II.

The wall
round Old
St. Paul's.

The gates
in the
wall.

Bishop's
Palace.

Chapter
House.

¹ Dugdale, p. 7.

² Winkle's *Cathedrals*, vol. i. p. 66.

CHAP.
II.Charnel
House.The citi-
zens
claimed a
right to
use parts
of the
Church-
yard.

Dean and Chapter.¹ On the North side of the Church-
yard was a Charnel House, over which a Chapel was
built.² ‘The Citizens claimed the East part of the
Church Yard to be the place of Assembly to their
Folknotes, and that the great steeple there situate
was to that use their Common Bell, which being there
rung, all the inhabitants of the City might hear and
come together. They also claimed the West side, that
they might there assemble themselves together, with
the Lord of Baynard’s Castle, for the view of their
armour in defence of the City.’³

Wall com-
pleted in
A.D. 1285.

The Wall seems not to have been completed till the
year 1285, for, as stated by Dugdale,⁴ ‘upon information
made to King Edward the First, that, by the lurking of
thieves, and other bad people, in the night time, within
the precinct of the Church Yard, divers robberies, homi-
cides, and fornications had been committed therein; for
the preventing of the like, for the future, the said King,
by his patent bearing date at Westminster 10 June in
the 13th year of his reign, to the honour of God and
Holy Church, and of those saints whose bodies were
buried therein, as also for the better security of the
Canons and officers belonging thereto, granted unto the
said Dean and Canons licence to include the said
Church Yard with a wall on every side, with fitting
Gates and Postern therein, to be opened every morning
and closed at night.’

Pardon
Church-
yard.

There were numerous beautiful chapels in and about
the Cathedral, among which one in Pardon Church-
yard, founded by Gilbert Becket, ‘Portgrave, and
principal magistrate of this City in the reign of King
Stephen,’ the churchyard of which was enclosed by a

¹ Dugdale, p. 129.³ Stow’s *Survey of London*, vol. i. p. 639.² Ibid. p. 131.⁴ P. 18.

cloister with painted walls, deserves particular mention. It is thus described by Dugdale:—‘There was also one great cloister on the north side of the Church, environing a plot of ground of old time called Pardon Church Yard. About this cloister was artificially and richly painted the Dance of Machabray, or Dance of Death, commonly called the Dance of St. Paul’s.’ It was destroyed in 1549 and turned into a garden by order of the avaricious Protector who coveted the materials. ‘In the year 1549, on the 10th of April, the said Chapel, by commandment of the Duke of Somerset, was begun to be pulled down with the whole cloister, the Dance of Death, the Tombs, and Monuments; so that nothing thereof was left but the bare plot of ground, which is since converted into a garden for the petty canons.’ There was also a chapel at the north door, ‘founded by Walter Sherrington, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in the reign of Henry VI.;’¹ ‘There was furthermore a fair chapel of the Holy Ghost in St. Paul’s Church on the north side, founded in the year 1400 by Roger Holmes, Chancellor and Prebendary of St. Paul’s;’ ‘then, under the choir of St. Paul’s is a large chapel, first dedicated to the name of Jesu, in a place called the Shrowds of the Cathedral, founded, or rather confirmed, the 27th of Henry VI.’²

CHAP.
II.

The painted
cloister.

The Dance
of Death
destroyed
in 1549.

Sherrington’s
Chapel.

Chapel of
the Holy
Ghost.

Jesu
Chapel.

The most remarkable appendage to the Cathedral was the extremely beautiful Parish Church of St. Faith,³

The
Church of
St. Faith.

¹ ‘The chapel and library attached to it were pulled down in 1549, and the materials carried into the Strand towards the building of that stately fabric called “Somerset House,” built by Edward, Duke of Somerset, on his appointment as Lord Protector to King Edward VI.’—Dugdale, p. 134.

² Stow, vol. i. pp. 640, 641, and Dugdale, pp. 132, 133.

³ This parish is now united to that of St. Austin’s, in Watling Street.

CHAP.
II.

The Church
of St. Faith
transferred
to under-
croft in
A.D. 1256.

Church
of St.
Gregory.

built under the choir. 'At the west end of this Jesu's Chapel, under the choir of St. Paul's, also was, and is, a Parish Church of St. Faith, commonly called St. Faith's under St. Paul's, which served for the stationers and others dwelling in St. Paul's Church Yard, Pater-noster Row, and the places near adjoining.' The Church of St. Faith the Virgin was originally above ground, and Jesus Chapel was attached to it. The four great bells belonging to this chapel were hung in a bell-tower on the eastern side of the churchyard. 'The bells and the image of St. Paul on the top of the spire were all standing till Sir Miles Partridge, Knight, *temp.* Henry VIII., having won them from the King at one cast of the dice, pulled them down.'¹ The Church of St. Faith was, as already related,² demolished about the year 1256, to enlarge the Cathedral,³ and a portion of the undercroft was then granted to the parish-ioners as a place of worship, and converted into the New Church of St. Faith.⁴ Jesus Chapel was still attached to it, although architecturally severed, and so continued until 1551, when it 'was laid open to the Church, for the better enlargement thereof.'⁵ Fuller wittily describes Old St. Paul's as being 'truly the mother church, having one babe in her body—St. Faith's, and another in her arms—St. Gregory's.'⁶

The Church of St. Gregory, which was a parish church, was built up against the walls of the Cathedral at the South-west corner. The building shown in Hollar's plate is of a debased style of architecture, and clearly was not the original church, which was probably Norman, but there can be very little doubt

¹ Dugdale, p. 130.

² See p. 8.

³ Dugdale, p. 14.

⁴ Winkle's *Cathedrals*, vol. i. p. 67.

⁵ Dugdale, p. 120.

⁶ Timbs' *Curiosities of London*, p. 85.

that it occupied the same position. To us it seems strange that a church should be actually built up against the walls of a Cathedral. But it was not uncommon for parish churches to be built in close proximity to a Cathedral; St. Margaret's, for instance, is placed close to Westminster Abbey: there does not, however, appear to be any instance, at least in England, of a church being built against the very walls of a Cathedral. At length the position of St. Gregory's Church was considered to be a mistake, and before 1645, notwithstanding a petition from the parishioners against its demolition,¹ the Church was 'pulled down in regard it was thought to be a blemish to the stately Cathedral whereunto it adjoined.'²

CHAP.
II.

In an account of Old St. Paul's, the celebrated 'Paul's Cross' must not be forgotten. 'About the midst of this church yard,' says Stow, 'was a pulpit-cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone and covered with lead, in which were sermons preached by learned divines every Sunday in the forenoon. The very antiquity thereof is to me unknown. But I read that, in the year 1259, King Henry III. commanded a general assembly to be made at the cross, where he, in person, commanded the mayor, that on the next day following he should cause to be sworn before the Aldermen every stripling of twelve years of age or upwards, to be true to the King and his heirs Kings of England.' 'Also, in the year 1262, the same King caused to be read at St. Paul's Cross a Bull, obtained from Pope Urban IV. as an absolution for him, and for all that were sworn to maintain the articles made in Parliament at Oxford.

Paul's
Cross.

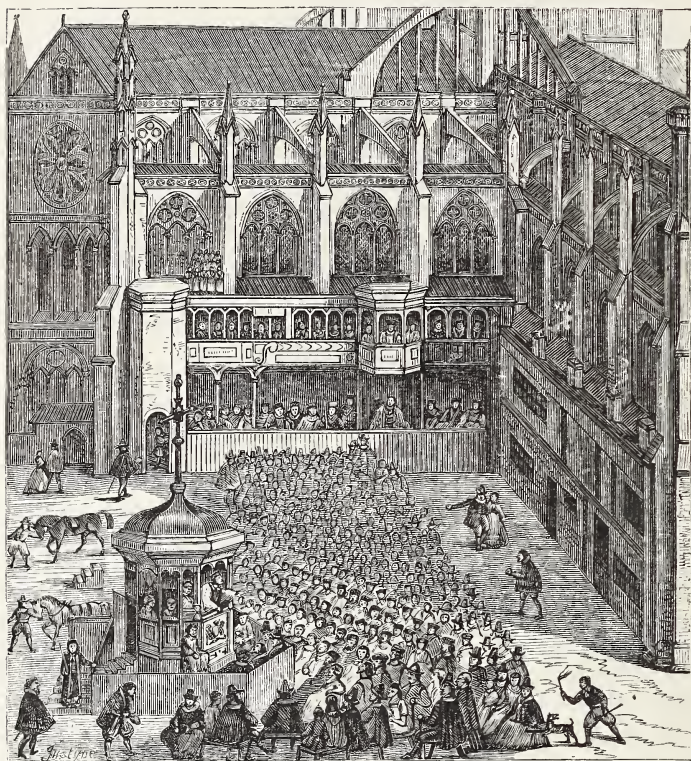
Stow's
account
of it.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, pp. 218, 408. 1637, June 15.

² Dugdale, p. 147.

CHAP.
II.

Also, in the year 1299, the Dean of St. Paul's cursed, at St. Paul's Cross, all those which had searched in the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields for an hoard of



ST. PAUL'S CROSS.

"As it appeared on Sunday, 26th of March, 1620, at which time it was visited by King James I. and his Court, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen being in attendance; when a sermon was preached by Dr. John King, Bishop of London, recommending the speedy reparation of the venerable Cathedral of St. Paul's, which with its unsteeped Tower, &c., appears in the back or side grounds." From an original picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, London, which is engraved in Wilkinson's *Londina illustrata*, 1811.

gold. This pulpit cross was, by tempest of lightning and thunder, much defaced; Thomas Kempe, then (1450–89) Bishop of London, new built this pulpit and cross. In foul and rainy weather these solemn sermons

were preached in a place called the Shrowds,¹ which was, as it seems, by the side of the Cathedral Church, where was covering and shelter. Now (*i.e.* about 1720), long since, both the Cross and the Shrowds are disused, and neither of them extant; but the sermons are preached in the Cathedral itself, though they are still called St. Paul's Cross Sermons.'²

CHAP.
II.
The
Shrowds.

The style of architecture of Old St. Paul's ranged from Early Norman to Early English Gothic, and Decorated. The Perpendicular Gothic was scarcely represented, except in the tombs and shrines, and interpolations of little importance. The 'Debased Gothic,' and the Italian style succeeded, and it was fortunate that the marks of the previous periods were not effaced by the 'improvers.' 'The Church consisted of a nave and two aisles, running throughout the building, as well in the choir as in the transepts. From the western wall of the nave to its intersection by the transepts were twelve openings, separated by Norman pillars, and crowned with semi-circular arches. Above these was a triforium, in which the circular arch was also employed, but the clerestory windows and vaulting were in the Pointed Gothic. Each transept had five arches similar to those in the nave: over their intersection with the choir and nave rose the steeple tower. The entrance to the choir was distinguished by a screen richly ornamented, on each side of whose principal door were four canopies, and to the right and left, just beyond the range of

The
second
Cathedral
partly
Norman
and partly
Gothic.

Mr. Gwilt's
description
of Old
St. Paul's.

¹ The Shrowds, or rather Crowds, were the crypts. 'This being a parish church, dedicated to the honour of St. Faith, the Virgin, was heretofore called *Ecclesia S. Fidei in Cryptis* (or in the Crowds according to the vulgar expression).'—Dugdale, p. 119.

² Stow, vol. i. p. 644; see also Dugdale, p. 130.

CHAP.
II.

the great pillars, were two doorways, which led to the side aisles of the choir. The whole of the choir was in the most elegant Pointed Gothic, with a triforium and clerestory. Over the altar the view extended into the Lady Chapel, whose eastern wall was pierced with a beautiful circular window. On the south side of the Church (towards the West) was a cloister 90 feet square, in the centre of which stood a beautiful octagonal Chapter-house.¹

Wren's
remarks
on the
architec-
ture and
construc-
tion of Old
St. Paul's.

Wren had no love for 'Old St. Paul's,' and his criticisms on the style of its architecture, and on the technical defects of the building, however arbitrary they may seem to us, were perfectly consistent with the unbroken traditions of the school of which he was the representative. But his apparent dislike of all architecture which can, in any way, be described as Gothic—or perhaps it would be more true and more just to say Norman—which might be inferred from the language of his son and grandson, is greatly contradicted by the evidence of his works, which show that, however much he may have shared the prejudices of the day as regards minor forms and details, he had thoroughly mastered the principles of Gothic composition. On the other hand, his remarks charging the builders of Old St. Paul's with faulty construction must be considered overstrained when we reflect that the Cathedral had stood for four hundred years, and that many parts of its walls required gunpowder and battering rams to destroy them. It is true that mere massiveness and lavish use of materials do not necessarily involve good construction, but the builders of Old St. Paul's were not men to be contemptuously condemned.

¹ An Account of St. Paul's Cathedral. By Joseph Gwilt, Architect, in Britton and Pugin's *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* 1825, vol. i. p. 3.

The author of the *Parentalia*, expressing—as he evidently believes—his grandfather's opinions, says, 'They made great Pillars without any graceful manner; and thick Walls without Judgement. They had not yet fallen into the Gothick pointed-arch, as was followed in the Quire of a later Date, but kept to the circular Arch; so much they retained of the Roman manner, but nothing else: Cornices they could not have, for want of larger stones: in short, it was a vast, but heavy Building. Adjoining to the South Cross was a Chapter House of a more elegant Gothick manner, with a Cloyster of two Stories high.'¹ He then expresses his opinion that the Cathedral was badly built and had various defects, one of which was that it was 'much too narrow for the Heighth;'² but in this it is difficult to concur, the breadth including aisle walls being 104 and the external height of the nave 130 feet.

In his Report to the Commissioners appointed to take in hand the restoration of St. Paul's, before the Great Fire, Wren thus characterises the building:—'The work was both ill design'd and ill built from the Beginning: ill design'd, because the architect gave not Butment enough to counterpoise and resist the weight of the Roof from spreading the Walls; for the Eye alone will discover to any man that those Pillars, as vast as they are, even eleven Foot diameter, are bent outwards at least six inches from their first position. This bending of the Pillars was facilitated by their ill Building, for they are only cased without, and that with small stones, not one greater than a Man's Burden; but

CHAP.
II.

Wren's
criticism
on Old
St. Paul's
continued.

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 273. The inconsistency of objecting to the 'Gothick pointed arch,' (if 'fallen into' means blame) and, immediately afterwards, speaking of 'a more elegant Gothick manner' is obvious; but his remark on the Chapter House shows that Wren did not blame indiscriminately.

² *Ibid.* p. 276.

CHAP.
II.Wren's
condem-
nation of
Old St.
Paul's.

within it is nothing but a Core of small Rubbish-stone, and much mortar, which easily crushes and yields to the weight.' He then says that 'the Roof is, and ever was, too heavy for its Butment,' and that 'the Tower leans manifestly by the settling of one of the ancient Pillars that supported it. Four new arches were therefore of late years incorporated within the old ones, which hath straighten'd and hinder'd both the room and the clear thorough view of the nave in that part, where it had been more graceful to have been rather wider than the rest.' 'Besides this deformity of the tower itself within, there are others near it, as the next intercolumniation in the *navis* or body of the Church, is much less than all the rest. Also the north and south wings have aisles only on the west side, the others being originally shut up for the consistory.'

After this Wren makes remarks on the irregularity of the intercolumniations, with which modern architects—of the Gothic school at any rate—would not agree. He says, 'Lastly, the Intercolumniations, or Spaces, between the Pillars of the Quire next adjoining to the Tower, are very unequal. Again, on the Outside of the Tower, the Buttresses that have been erected, one upon the back of another to secure three corners on the inclining sides (for the fourth wants a Buttress), are so irregular that the Tower from Top to Bottom and the next adjacent part, are a Heap of Deformities.'¹

Defence
of Old
St. Paul's
against
Wren.

Notwithstanding Wren's criticism, however, this Cathedral must have been a magnificent building. The long perspective view of the twelve-bayed nave and twelve-bayed choir, with a splendid wheel window at

¹ Wren's Proposal to the Commissioners, *Parentalia*, pp. 274, 275.

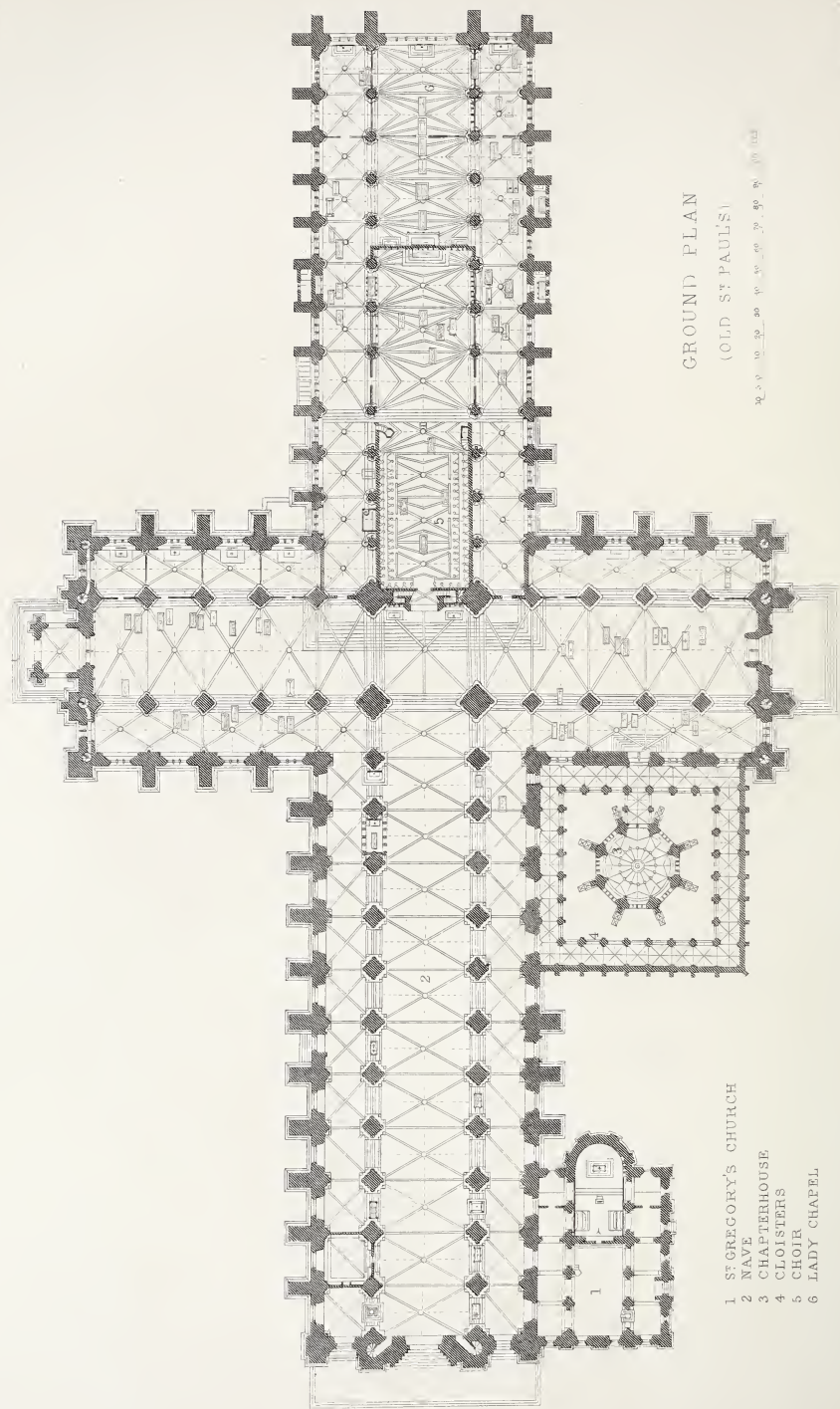
the East end, must have been very striking. The Chapter House embosomed in its Cloister; the little Church of St. Gregory nestling against the breast of the tall Cathedral; the enormously lofty and majestic steeple with its graceful flying buttresses, together with the various chapels and shrines filled with precious stones, must have combined to produce a most magnificent effect; and the number of tombs and monuments of illustrious men must have given an interest to the building, perhaps even more than equal to that now felt in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER III.

DETAILS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF OLD ST. PAUL'S.

This chapter is chiefly written from, and is entirely founded on, information given me by Mr. Edmund B. Ferrey, son of the eminent architect, to whom also, as already stated, I am indebted for the illustrations.¹

¹ The latter are reduced copies of the drawings submitted to the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1868, which obtained the 'Silver medal of the Institute and five guineas' for the best restoration of Old St. Paul's Cathedral, and were executed to the scale of eight feet to the inch. The length (on paper) of the ground plan consequently was 6 ft. 3 in., and the elevations, &c., of huge dimensions. The drawings show the building as it probably appeared about the year 1540.



GROUND PLAN
(OLD ST. PAUL'S)

Scale: 1" = 10' 0" 20' 30' 40' 50' 60' 70' 80' 90' 100'

- 1 ST. GREGORY'S CHURCH
- 2 NAVE
- 3 CHAPTERHOUSE
- 4 CLOISTERS
- 5 CHOIR
- 6 LADY CHAPEL

E. B. Perry del.

CHAPTER III.

HAVING endeavoured to give a general external picture of Old St. Paul's, I shall now try to describe more minutely its architectural details; but, before doing so, I must venture on the bold step of challenging the correctness of the old representations of the building, and of the dimensions assigned to it by contemporary authorities.

CHAP.
III.
Architec-
tural
details of
Old St.
Paul's.

The accompanying ground plan, drawn to scale by Mr. E. B. Ferrey, is founded on Hollar's plan in Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, which may, unquestionably, be taken as an authority. From this it appears that the total length of the building from east to west, inclusive of end walls, was about 596 feet. This is longer by sixty-six feet than Winchester Cathedral, the longest in the United Kingdom. But Dugdale,¹ with a minute and apparent exactness, states the length at 690 feet, and this measurement has been repeated by every subsequent writer to the present day. It is remarkable that this does not correspond with the plan, laid down to scale, which accompanies Dugdale's description. Dugdale's statement is taken from Stow, who gives for it what seems to be an indisputable authority. It is that of a survey taken in the time of Edward the Second, which in Stow's time existed in Sir William Cecil's collection of MSS. He says, 'Let me add what a former very accurate observer had noted of

Length of
Old St.
Paul's.

CHAP.
III.
Length of
Old St.
Paul's.

the same, in these words: Hoc tempore, scil. 7 Edw. II., Campanile Ecclesiæ S. Pauli London reparatur. Hæc Ecclesia continet intra limites 626 virgas¹ quadratas, quæ faciunt tres acras et dimid. unum ped. et dimid. In longitudine 690 pedes, quæ faciunt 42 virgas. Altitudo corporis Ecclesiæ 150 pedes. Altitudo fabricæ lapideæ Campanilis à planâ terrâ 260 pedes; fabricæ Ligneæ Campanilis 274. Et tamen in toto non excedit 500 pedes.'² The only explanation of the difference between the length given in the Edw. II. survey and that in Hollar's plate seems to be that 6 must have been printed in mistake for 5. It is fortunate that the original MS. gives the contents of the area of St. Paul's, within its boundaries, in addition to the measurement in feet. This enables us to make a calculation which confirms the reduced estimate of the length of the building. The other dimensions given by Dugdale³ are unreliable, and the following, as calculated by Mr. Ferrey, may, probably, be nearer the truth.⁴

PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS OF MR. FERREY'S DRAWINGS.

Breadth, 104 feet (including aisle walls).

Height of roof, west part (*i.e.* up to ridge of vaulting), 93 feet.

¹ Always incorrectly translated yards, instead of poles.

² Strype's edition of Stow, vol. i. p. 640.

³ P. 17, quoting from Stow, vol. i. p. 638.

⁴ The following calculation, made for me by the Rev. John Hunter, of the area ABCD in the annexed diagram, confirms the reduced estimate of length. The diagram, as will be seen, includes the whole space contained in a figure formed by the prolongation of the lines of the building until they intersect. This space is taken as containing 626 square poles, which is shown to be = to 3 ac. 3 roods 26 poles.

40)626 sq. poles

4)15 roods 26 poles

3 ac. 3 ro. 26 po. = $3\frac{1}{2}$ ac. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ rood (not $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft., as stated in Cecil's MS.)



J. P. Ferrey del.

H. Adlard sc.

WEST ELEVATION.

(OLD ST PAUL'S)

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 FEET.

Height of roof (*i.e.* up to vault ridge) to 'choir proper,' 101 feet 6 inches. CHAP.
III.

Height of roof at *Lady Chapel*, 98 feet 6 inches.

External height (ground to ridge of outer roof to *choir*), 142 feet.

External height (*ditto ditto* to *nave*), 130 feet.

Height of tower steeple from level ground, 285 feet.

Height of spire covered with lead, 208 feet (or 204 feet if calculated from top of tower parapet).

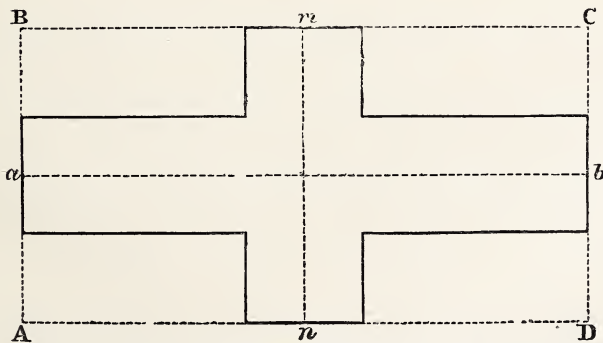
The next apparent error in Hollar's representations of St. Paul's is, that he represents the Choir as of the same height as the Nave. Mr. Ferrey has come to the conclusion that this was not so, but that it was higher. The following are some of his reasons. He says, 'Taking the diameters of the piers to the Nave and Choir as data where the ground plan (the only plate

The true
height of
the Choir.

626 sq. poles each $272\frac{1}{4}$ sq. ft. = 170428 sq. ft. An area 590 ft. in length and 290 ft. in breadth, contains about 170,428 sq. ft.: thus,

length 590)170428(290 ft. nearly.

$$\begin{array}{r} 1180 \\ \hline 52428 \\ 54100 \end{array}$$



A B C D, total area of St. Paul's, 626 virgæ quadratæ, or square poles.

Dotted lines, prolongations of the building.

a b, supposed length (Q. E. D.) of St. Paul's, 590 feet.

m n, width along transept 290 feet.

The ground plan, made by Sir Christopher Wren, of New St. Paul's superimposed upon that of Old St. Paul's, which accompanies this work, confirms these dimensions.

CHAP.
III.Height of
Choir.

showing the Cathedral, which is drawn to scale) aided me, I endeavoured to build up the "elevations," *i.e.*, using the diameters of the piers (as also other approximate means) in the same way as classicists calculate their proportions by "modules." Assuming the *tolerable* correctness of Hollar's representations, the result of these researches was to prove that the Choir was higher than the Nave.¹ In my restoration, therefore, I have made the Choir higher than the Nave, and this agrees completely with Hollar's interior perspective view. There is, also, this further proof of the additional height of the Choir. In order to preserve the proportions indicated in Hollar's internal views, it is necessary to raise the ridge of the vaulting considerably above that of the wall ribs. If the vaulting had been treated in the more usual English manner, the Choir must have been made even higher than shown in the accompanying illustrations.'²

The reason for giving this extra elevation to the Choir may probably have been to compensate for the effect produced by the elevation of the floor of the Choir over that of the main body of the Church.

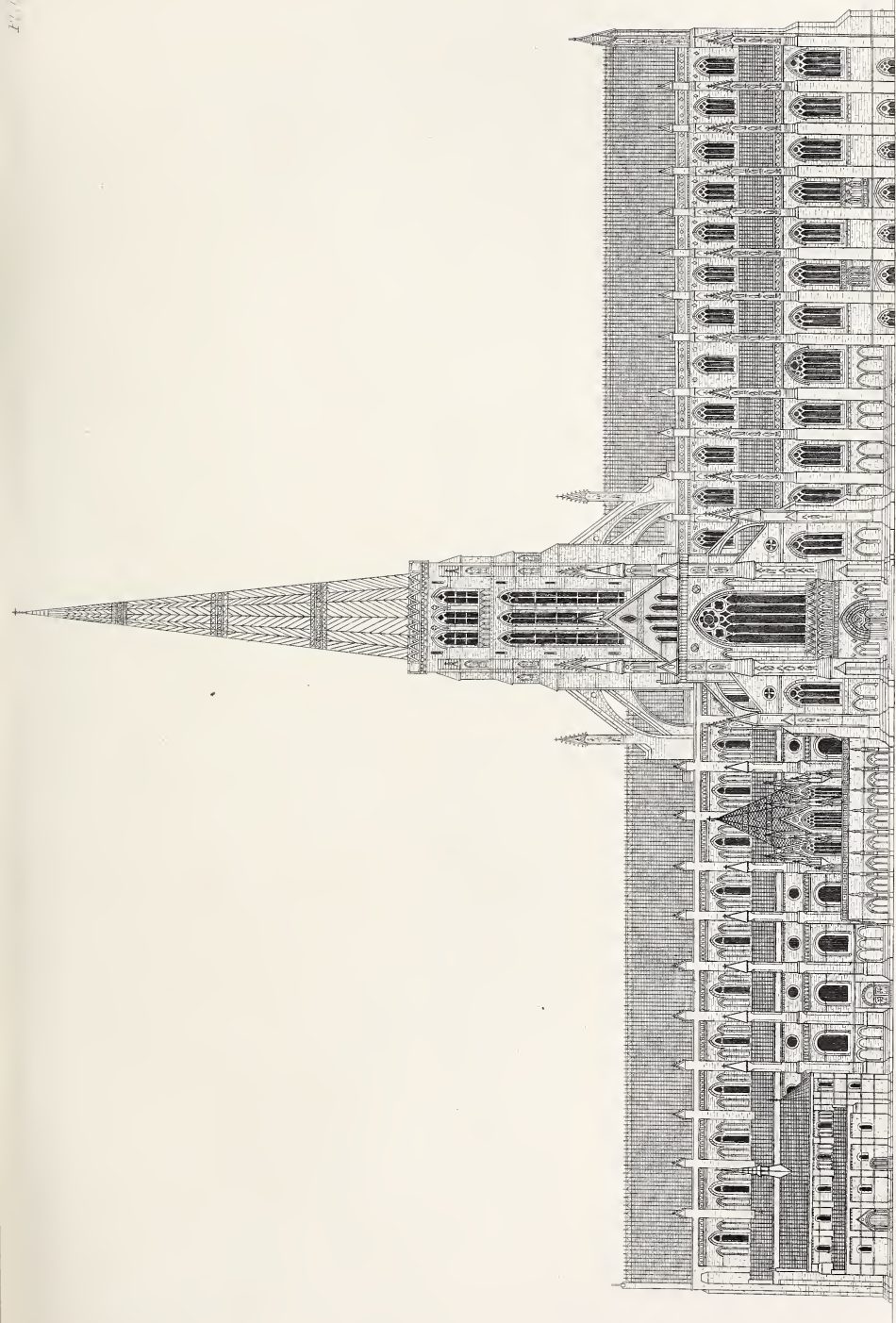
I will now describe more minutely the architectural details of the Cathedral, beginning with the interior.

The grandeur of the Nave, Choir, and entrances to Transepts.

The interior had many peculiar characteristics. The Grand Nave of twelve bays, and the Choir, with the like number of divisions, were, as compared with any English cathedral, unique and striking arrangements. There were important entrances to the North and

¹ The ridge roll of the Nave Roof is shown *below* the Cills of the lower tier of Windows of the Tower in the view of the Cathedral from the west, but in the eastern prospect the roof runs into them for some distance *above* the Cills.

² See the series of plates, engraved from Mr. Ferrey's drawings, which accompany this work.



H. Adlard sc.

SOUTH ELEVATION. (OLD ST. PAULS)

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET

London: Longmans & Co.

E. B. Ferry del.

South Transepts, which is seldom the case in English cathedrals. The transepts, too, had an unusually great projection, and, having aisles on both the eastern and western sides, formed prominent features in the whole composition. For such an extensive building the plan was remarkably simple and unbroken, and the form of the Cross was readily evident in its external aspects.

CHAP.
III.

The roof of the Nave had originally, in all probability, the normal flat painted ceiling like Peterborough, and other Norman cathedrals and churches, but at a later period it was vaulted. This was probably done in 1255, when, as I have already stated, the roof was repaired. If reliance is to be placed on Hollar's plates, the vaulting was originally of wood; but in the curious view of St. Paul's painted on a wood panel, now in possession of the Society of Antiquaries,¹ there are flying buttresses, which, in addition to other grounds for the supposition, seem to indicate that at one time there was stone vaulting.

The roof
first flat
and after-
wards
vaulted.

The Norman nave aisle windows were unusually large for the period, but, judging from one of Hollar's interior views, they appear to have been of the original size and construction, though afterwards filled in with debased tracery. The accompanying copy of Hollar's plate, representing the interior of the Nave, is very striking, and shows a considerable resemblance to that of Ely and Peterborough.

There is every indication that the Central Tower was treated as a lantern internally, and was open up to the base of the Spire, or, at any rate, high enough to exhibit internally the effect of the first tier of windows. The view presented to a spectator standing under the crossing must have been very grand.

Central
Tower
treated as
a lantern.

¹ See woodcut on p. 20.

CHAP.
III.

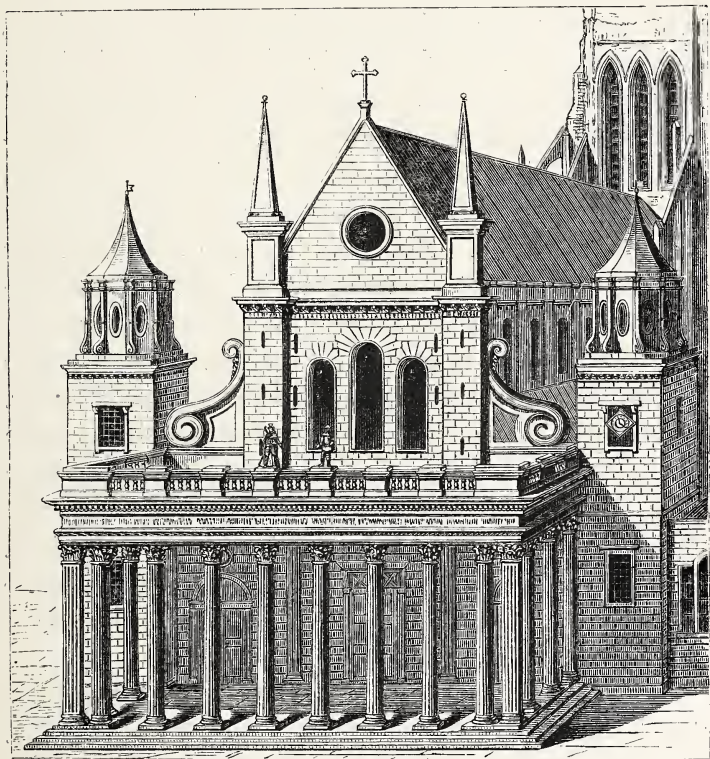
The rose
window at
the east
end.

The magnificent rose window at the east end of the Lady Chapel was a noteworthy feature in the architecture of Old St. Paul's, there being hardly any other such example in our English cathedrals, except that at Durham to the 'Nine Altars.' The trabeated arrangement of the seven-light window beneath the rose, too, is curious, and gives a French aspect to the composition. It is not evident whether the spandrels of the rose window—formed between the exterior of the circle and its enclosing square—were originally pierced. In Westminster Abbey the somewhat similar Transeptal windows were pierced, but this was probably done during the fifteenth century.

Western
towers.

The exterior now claims our attention, and the first question is, whether there were any western towers? Dugdale does not mention any, nor are there any in Hollar's plates. But Stow describes them in a very minute manner. He says, 'At either corner of this west end is, also of the ancient building, a strong tower of stone, made for bell towers; the one of them, to wit, next to the palace, is at this present to the use of the same palace; the other, towards the south, is called the Lowlarde's Tower, and hath been used as the Bishop's prison, for such as were detected for opinions in religion contrary to the faith of the Church. The last prisoner which I have known committed thereto was in the year 1573, one Peter Burcher, gentleman, of the Middle Temple, for having desperately wounded, and minding to have murdered a serviceable gentleman named John Hawkins, Esq., in the high street near unto the Strand, who being taken and examined was found to hold certain opinions erroneous, and therefore committed thither and convicted; but in the end, by persuasion, he promised to abjure his heresies, and

was, by commandment of the council, removed from thence to the Tower of London, where he committed as in my *Annales* I have expressed. Adjoining to the Lowlarde's Tower is the parish church of St. Gregory.¹ This passage is to be found in the early editions of Stow, but it is omitted in that of Strype. What can



INIGO JONES' PORTICO (FROM HOLLAR).

be the reason of this? The turrets represented on each side of Inigo Jones' portico do not deserve the description of 'a strong tower of stone,' and are hardly large enough to be used as a prison. They may, how-

¹ Stow's *Survey*, Thom's ed., p. 318.

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III.

ever, have been rebuilt by Inigo Jones on the foundations of larger towers, but, it must be stated, there is no evidence of this. No drawings or plates are known to exist which would settle this question, and consequently no towers are given in Mr. Ferrey's restorations.

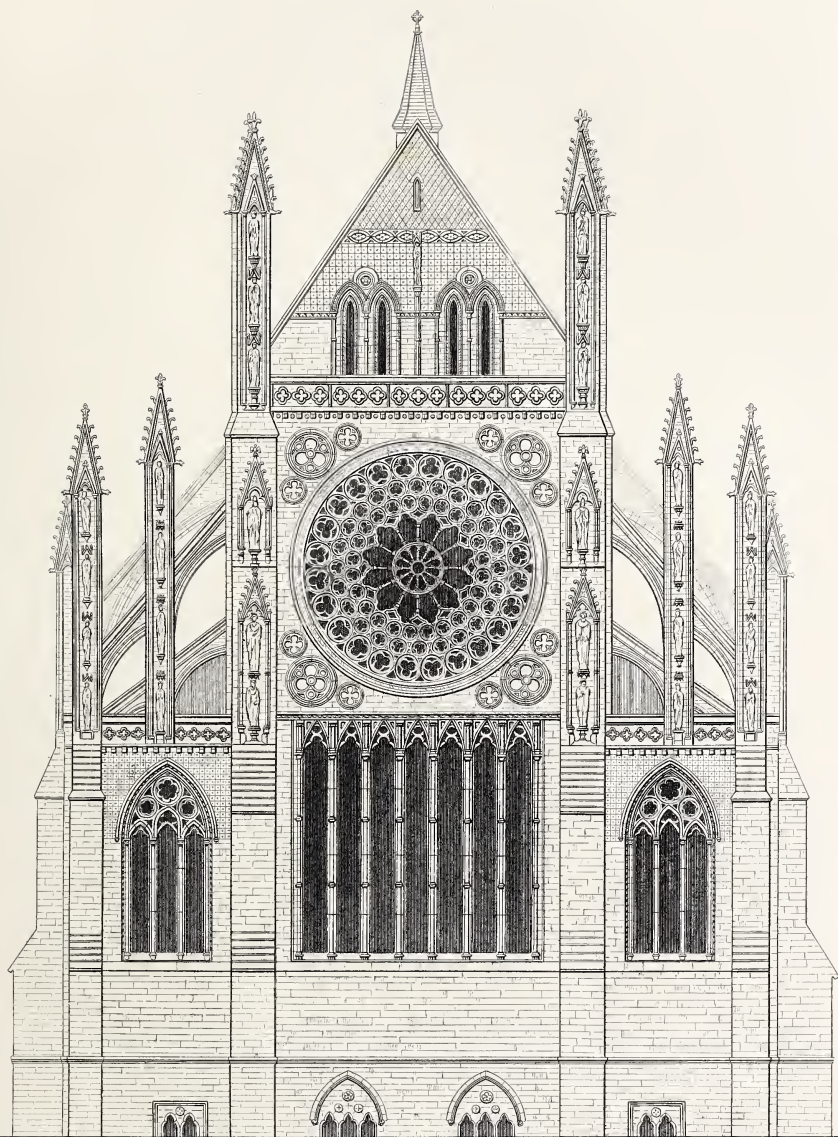
Bell Tower
at east end.

The Central Tower and Spire seem to have been made one of the culminating points of the composition, for they stood alone without rivals. The detached Bell Tower, at the east end, belonging to Jesus' Chapel, must have added much to the picturesqueness of the neighbourhood of the Cathedral, but it can hardly have been originally planned with the intention of contributing to the general effect. The Spire of the Cathedral—as already stated—was covered with lead. There are very few examples now existing of spires of large proportion that retain their original lead covering, and these do not give us any idea of grandeur or great richness. But yet lead is even more capable of ornamentation than the stubborn material, stone, used by architects in such cases, and, from Dugdale's remarks, it is clear that the lead-covered spire of St. Paul's was much admired. On the Continent, steeples covered with lead are more common, and sometimes furnish beautiful examples of lead work.

The spire
of the Ca-
thedral co-
vered with
lead.

The flying
buttresses.

The pinnacles and bold flying buttresses attached to the Tower must have formed a very striking feature. It is not likely that they were parts of the original design, but were added, as Wren intimates, during the progress of the building to strengthen the failing Tower walls; and, if so, we must admire the skill with which the awkwardness of the 'prop' was made an integral feature of the composition. At Gloucester, Salisbury, and in other examples, the flying arches pass through the Clerestories, without showing much outside.



E.B. Peasey del.

H. Adlard sc.

EAST ELEVATION OF CHOIR.
(OLD ST PAUL'S)

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 FEET

The very long, narrow windows in the Tower gave it—architecturally speaking—a French tone, though the details are, evidently, pure Early English.

Turret-like pinnacles crowned the apex of the Gables to the east end of the Choir and the South Transept. They were no longer in existence when Hollar made his views, but they are shown in the curious old painting at the Society of Antiquaries already mentioned. Such features were not common, but there are instances in the South Transept, York Cathedral, and the North Transept, Westminster Abbey.

The two-storied Cloisters formed another remarkable and unusual feature of Old St. Paul's. Wells Cathedral and Merton College, Oxford, have *rooms over* the Cloisters, which are used as libraries, but in St. Paul's the peculiarity consisted in there being a second range of open archways over the lower ones. The open arcades render it probable that they were both used as ambulatories; but, considering the conspicuous place in which they stood environed by a large city, it is not improbable that the exterior was designed in some more ornamental way than Hollar's plates indicate. In the accompanying illustration¹ a treatment has been suggested externally, partially revealing the internal arrangement, that is to say, the division into bays, and the arcaded work internally is made to correspond with the supposed external ornamentation.

The two-
storied
Cloister.

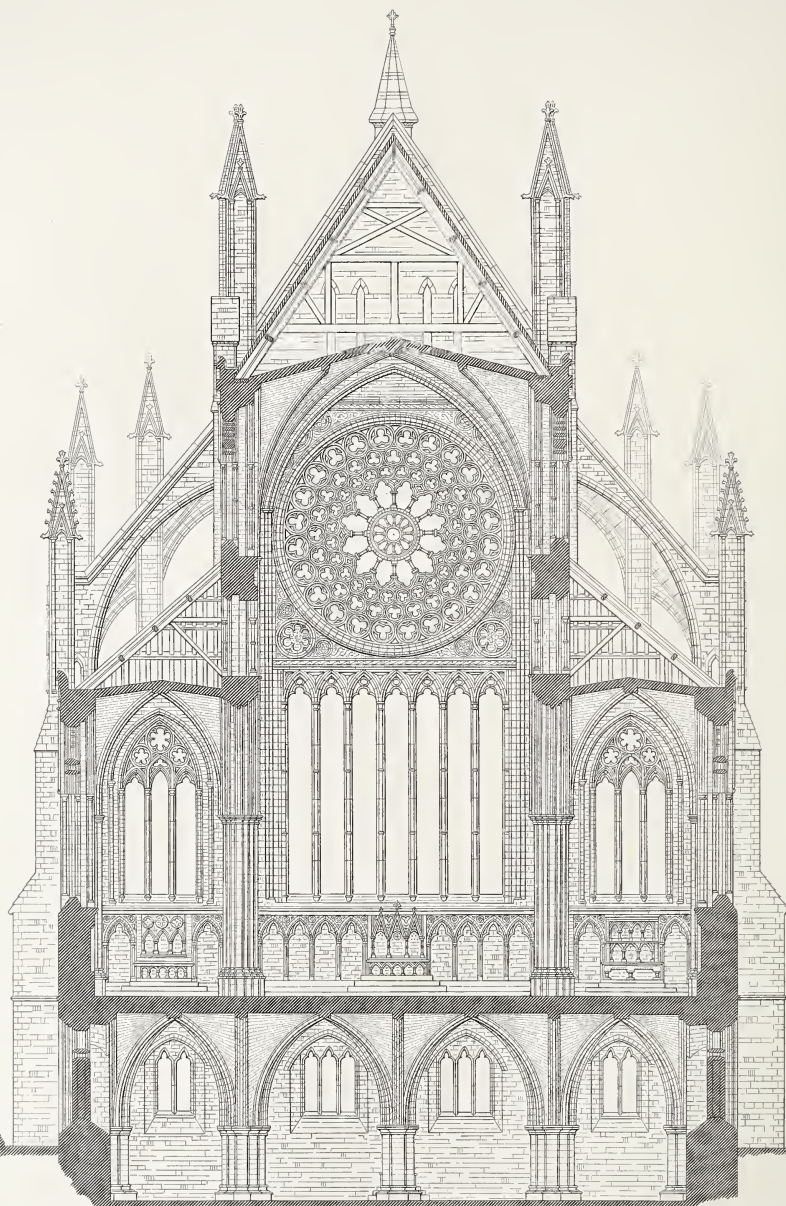
In concluding the remarks on the architecture of Old St. Paul's, it must be stated, in justification of the bold attempt to represent St. Paul's more correctly than was done by Hollar, who actually saw the building, that Hollar's plates are full of evident inaccuracies.

¹ See the series of Plates from Mr. Ferrey's drawings.

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III.

One plate contradicts the other, and, indeed, scarcely two of them agree, as will be seen by the appendix to this chapter.

No further information about the construction of Old St. Paul's, and none whatever about its cost, seems discoverable; and it will therefore be well to follow the example of Dugdale, who says, 'in which glorious condition I shall for awhile leave this famous Church, and proceed in taking notice of what else hath been most remarkable therein.'



E.E. Ferrey del.

H. Adlard sc.

TRANSVERSE SECTION THRO' CHOIR & ST FAITH'S CH.
(LOOKING EAST)
(OLD ST PAUL'S)

0' 5' 10' 15' 20' 25' 30' 35' 40' 45' 50' 55' 60' 65' 70' FEET

LIST OF SOME DISCREPANCIES AND ERRORS IN
HOLLAR'S PLATES TO DUGDALE'S OLD ST. PAUL'S. CHAP.
III.

By Mr. EDMUND B. FERREY.

IN the two views given by Hollar of different parts of the Choir there are several discrepancies. For instance, in one plate he shows the outer mouldings of the arches almost touching the triforium floor, and in another a considerable distance between.

In Hollar's ground plan the recumbent figure of Thomas Kempe is attached to the easternmost pier of the bay in which it stands. In the large detail perspective the effigy is placed *centrally* in the bay.

In the external North and South general views of the Cathedral the Choir is shown with eleven bays. The ground plan shows twelve, which is much the more likely number.

In the view of the Choir the first and second bays West from the steps at the end of the Presbytery have no groining shafts between them, and the two bays of the triforium seem to be coupled together. In the centre between the two bays is placed a four-light window. The external views of the Cathedral show no indication of this, but a wide bay is shown in the prospect from the North; only this is *east* of the steps alluded to, instead of *west*.

A wide bay is also shown in the internal view of the Choir, being the second one east from the steps beyond the stalls.

Six steps to the Presbytery, over St. Faith's Church, are shown in the ground plan, but *five* in the internal view.

Roger Niger's tomb is shown in different positions in the ground plan and in the detailed perspective view; in the latter the piers between which it stands are in very different proportions from those shown in the other internal views.

In the view of North side of Choir, St. Faith's Church seems to occupy eight bays, but only four windows are shown, whereas in the ground plan there are seven windows on that side.

The elevation of the buttresses to the Choir and Transepts does not agree at all with their projection as shown on the plan, which is excessive. I have, however, *followed* the *elevation*, and reduced the projection three or four feet.

In the ground plan of St. Faith's the buttresses are shown projecting 9 feet 6 inches from the wall, whereas in the Cathedral above they project twelve feet.

In Hollar's ground plan of St. Faith's the windows appear

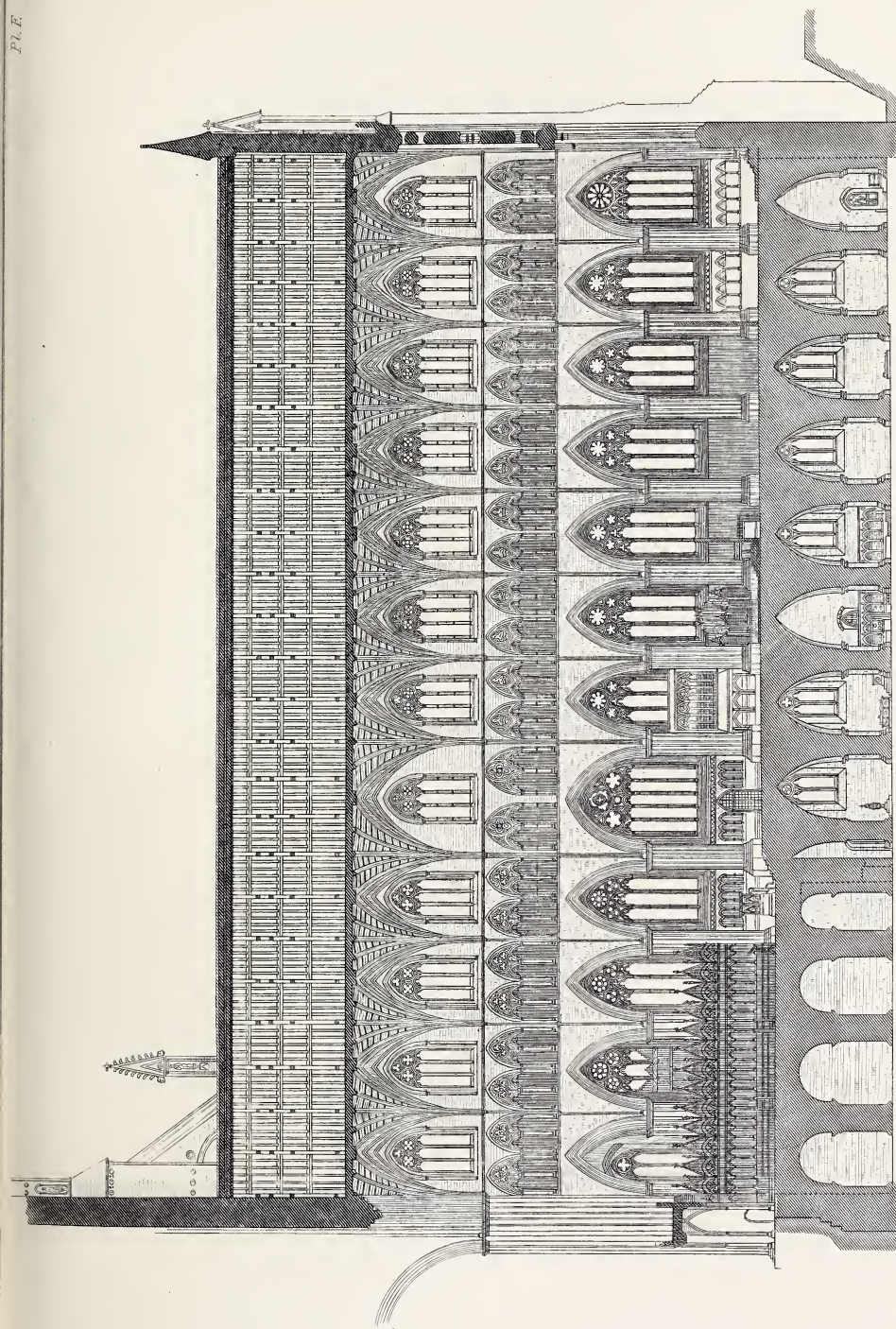
CHAP
III.

considerably smaller than in the perspective view from the north of the exterior of the Choir.

In the ground plan the Choir screen is shown in the middle of the Tower piers. In the perspective internal view it is brought farther westward of Dugdale.

At page 115, of Dugdale, Erkenwald's shrine is mentioned as being in the Lady Chapel. But in Hollar's plan the Lady Chapel only occupies the two eastern bays.

Bishop Braybroke's monument is mentioned at page 85 as 'in the middle of the Lady Chapel,' whereas it is shown in the ground plan as at the entrance of the same.



E.B. Ferry del.

H. Adlard sc.

LONGITUDINAL SECTION THRO' CHOIR. (OLD ST. PAUL'S)

Scale of Feet 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

London: Longmans & Co.

CHAPTER IV.

CURIOUS CUSTOMS AND INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH
OLD ST. PAUL'S.

CHAPTER IV.

At the close of the last chapter I stated that Dugdale, after giving an account of the progress of the building of St. Paul's, said, 'in which glorious condition I shall for awhile leave this famous Church, and proceed in taking notice of what else hath been most remarkable therein.' I propose to follow Dugdale's example, and, leaving the old church 'for awhile' at its most flourishing epoch, to gather up some curious odds and ends of facts connected with its social history, before relating that of its destruction.

CHAP.
IV.
Odds and
ends about
Old St.
Paul's

One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the history of Old St. Paul's is the extraordinary desecration to which it was subjected during the latter half of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century. I suspect that other cathedrals were similarly desecrated, but I have no positive facts to support me in this surmise. The investigation of its causes would be a most interesting enquiry.

Its dese-
cration.

The earliest notice, and condemnation, of the desecration, with which I am acquainted, is in the year 1554, or about twenty years after the Reformation, and it seems to me not improbable that the ferment of men's minds caused by that great event, and by the extraordinary ebb and flow of its progress, may have diminished the feeling of sanctity attached to a building which was one day devoted to one form of

Cause of
dese-
cration.

CHAP.

IV.

Cause of
dese-
cration.

worship and another to one of an utterly different character. But it is singular that there was a mixture of seemingly authorised permission, or at least tolerance, and of authoritative repression, of this desecration. Thus, as will presently be seen, on the one hand, it was the recognised resort of wits and gallants, of men of fashion and of lawyers; and, on the other, proclamations and orders against brawlings and other misuses of the Cathedral were frequent.

Manner of
dese-
cration.

The desecration was of the most varied kind. St. Paul's was turned into a gossip-shop, a rendezvous for the transactions of business, a place of meeting for secular amusements of every description, and, as Evelyn, lamenting 'the sad and deplorable condition it was in,' says, it was 'made a stable of horses, and a den of thieves.'¹

But it was deserted in the summer. Dudley Carlton, writing to John Chamberlain on July 26th, 1600, says, 'These great matters put Ireland out of talk, and here is nobody to talk with, for Paul's is as empty as a barn at midsummer.'²

Paul's
Walk

The floor was laid out in walks, the South Alley for one purpose, the North for another; but the Middle Aisle was the great place of gathering. It was called Paul's Walk; and there the hunters after news, the wits and the gallants, assembled themselves together. Greene the dramatist, in the introduction to his curious tract entitled 'Theeves falling out, True-men come by their Goods: or, The Bellman wanted a Clapper,' says, 'Walke in the middle of Paul's, and gentlemen's teeth walke not faster at ordinaries than

¹ From Evelyn's Dedication of his *An Account of Architects and Architecture*, folio 1706, dated at Wotton, Feb. 1697.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1598-1601, p. 457.

there a whole day together about enquiry after news.'¹ Bishop Earle, in his 'Microcosmography,' which was first published in 1628, says,² 'Paul's Walk is the land's epitome, or you may call it the lesser isle of Great Britain. It is more than this—the whole world's map, which you may here discern in its perfectest motion, jostling and turning. It is a heap of stones and men, with a vast confusion of languages; and were the steeple not sanctified, nothing liker Babel. The noise in it is like that of bees, a strange humming or buzz mixed, of walking, tongues, and feet; it is a kind of still roar or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever but is here stirring and afoot. It is the synod of all pates politick, jointed and laid together in most serious posture, and they are not half so busy as the Parliament. It is the antick of tails to tails and backs to backs, and for vizards you need go no further than faces. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheapen here at all rates and sizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of popery, first coined and stamped in the Church. All inventions are emptied here, and not few pockets. The best sign of a temple in it is, that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in the crowd than in the wilderness, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. It is the other expence of the day after plays and tavern, and men have still some oaths left to swear here. The visitants are all men without exceptions; but the principal inhabitants and possessors are stale knights and captains out of service,

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IV.

Bishop
Earle's
account of
Paul's
Walk

¹ London, 1637. Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. viii. p. 382.

² Edition of 1811, edited by Philip Bliss, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, p. 116.

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IV.

men of long rapiers and breeches, which after all turn merchants here and traffick for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travel for a stomach ; but thriftier men make it their ordinary, and board here very cheap.

“ You'd not doe
Like your penurious father, who was wont
To walke his dinner out in Paules.”

Mayne's *City Match*, 1658.'

As an illustration of Paul's Walk being a place of resort for 'captains out of service, men of long rapiers,' Shakspeare makes Falstaff say that he bought Bardolph in Paul's:—

'Falstaff. Where's Bardolph?

Page. He's gone to Smithfield to buy your worship a horse.

Falstaff. I bought *him* in Paul's.'

Henry IV. Pt. II. Act i. Scene 2.

Ben
Jonson
and Paul's
Walk.

In the Dramatis Personæ of Ben Jonson's 'Every Man in his Humour,' Bobadil is described as 'a Paul's man,' and in his 'Every Man out of his Humour,' the first scene of the third act is laid in the Middle Aisle of St. Paul's: Orange asks Shift, 'What has brought you into these west parts?' and Shift answers, 'Troth, signior, nothing but your rheum; I have been taking an ounce of tobacco hardly here, with a gentleman, and I am come to spit private in Paul's.' When Fastidious enters, he says, 'Come, let's walk in Mediterraneo' (the Middle Aisle).

Bishop
Earle
again.

Again, in describing a courtier, Bishop Earle says¹:— 'If you find him not heere, you shall in Paules, with a pick-tooth in his hat, a cape cloke, and a long stocking.' In his description² of 'A Corranto-coiner,' or

¹ *Microcosmography*, p. 259.

² *Ibid.* pp. 284, 288.

manufacturer of news, he says, 'Paules is his walk in winter. . . . He holds himself highly engaged to his invention if it can purchase him victuals; for authors, he never converseth with them, unless they walke in Paules.' Again he says¹ in his account of 'The Tearme,' which he describes as the 'time when Justice keeps open court for all comers, while her sister Equity strives to mitigate the rigour of her positive sentence. It is called the Tearme, because it does end and terminate business, or else because it is the *Terminus ad quem*, that is, the end of the countryman's journey, who comes up to the Tearme, and with his hobnayleshooes grindes the faces of the poore stones, and so returns again. It is the soule of the yeare it sends forth her bookes into the world, and replenishes Paule's walke with fresh company, where *Quid novi?* is their first salutation and the weekly news their chiefe discourse.'

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IV.

Bishop
Earle on
Paul's
Walk.

Francis Osborn, in his 'Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James,'² says, 'It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue till these, for the principall Gentry, Lords, Commons, and men of all professions not meerey Mechanick, to meet in Paul's Church by eleven, and walk in the middle Ile till twelve, and after dinner from three to six, during which time some discoursed of Businesse, others of Newes.' Weever, in his 'Ancient Funeral Monuments,'³ says, 'It could be wished that walking in the middle isle of Paules might be forborne in the time of dinner service,' but probably this was a misprint for 'divine' service.

¹ Ibid. p. 291.

² Printed for Thomas Robinson (Oxford), 1658, p. 64.

³ 1631, p. 373.

CHAP.
IV.Decker's
account of
Paul's
Walk.

Decker, in his 'Gull's Hornbook' (first published in 1609),¹ gives a most amusing account of the way in which St. Paul's was misused, in his instructions as to the way in which 'a Gallant should behave himself in Paul's Walks.' He says, 'Now for your venturing into the walk. Be circumspect and wary what pillar you come in at; and take heed in any case, as you love the reputation of your honour, that you avoid the serving man's log;² and approach not within five fathom of that pillar; but bend your course directly in the middle line, that the whole body of the church may appear to be yours. . . . But one note by the way do I especially woo you to, that by no means you take more than four turns; but in the fifth make yourself away, either in some of the semsters' shops, the new tobacco office, or amongst the booksellers.' He then goes on to say that if he be 'a gallant in the mercers' books, exalted for satins and velvets,' that is to say in their debt, 'your Paul's Walk is your only refuge: the Duke's tomb is a sanctuary.' The Duke's tomb is that which was supposed to be the tomb of the good Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and which, like other parts of the Church, was a sanctuary. The Aisle in which it stood was called Duke Humphrey's Walk, and

¹ Edition printed at Bristol, 1812, p. 91 *et seq.*

² The anonymous editor (J. N.) of the edition from which I have quoted says, 'This, I should imagine, was the rendezvous of gossiping servants, who kept apart from the gentry, and seated themselves, for rest and convenience, on a block or bench affixed to some particular pillar. The following passage from Jasper Mayne would seem to favour such conjecture:—

Newcut. Indeed, they say,

He was a monument of St. Paul's.

Timothy. Yes, he was there

As constant as Duke Humphrey. I can shew

The prints where he sate, holes i' th' logs."

City Match, Act iii. Scene 3.

Decker says of it, 'All the diseased horses in a tedious siege cannot show so many fashions¹ as are to be seen for nothing, every day, in Duke Humphrey's Walk. If therefore you determine to enter into a new suit, warn your tailor to attend you in Paul's.'²

CHAP
IV.

Duke
Humphrey's
Walk.

Old St. Paul's was also the resort of lawyers who met their clients there. Dugdale, in his *Origines Juridicales*³—speaking of what he calls a tradition—says, 'St. Paul's Church, where each Lawyer and Serjeant at his Pillar heard his Client's Cause, and took notes thereof upon his knee; as they do in Guildhall at this day: And that after the Serjeants' feast ended, they do still go to Paul's in their Habits, and there choose their Pillar, whereat to hear their Clyents' cause (if any come) in memory of that old custome.'

The Ser-
jeants at
their
Pillars.

Dugdale throws some doubt on the story, for he says, 'But, if we may rely upon the testimony of Sir John Fortescue, this tradition will prove but a mere conceit.'

Notwithstanding Dugdale's doubts, however, there seems to have been good ground for the 'tradition' to which he alludes, for in the very curious 'Diary of a Resident in London,' written above a century before Dugdale's work was published, the facts of the case are stated, and are probably the origin of what Dugdale calls the 'tradition.' This Diary was written by one Henry Machyn, 'Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London,' who, in his capacity of merchant taylor, was a furnisher of funeral trappings, and must, therefore, have been quite familiar with the manners and customs connected with St. Paul's. His Diary extends

¹ 'Infected with the fashions.'—*Taming of the Shrew*, Act iii. Scene 2; meaning farce, see Decker, p. 42 (note 21).

² Decker, p. 101.

³ London, 1680, p. 142.

CHAP.
IV.Machyn's
Diary.

over only fourteen years, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563. He says, 'The xvij day of October (1552) was made vii serjeants of the coyffe.' He then—with delicious disregard of spelling—describes how 'at ix. of the cloke' they 'whent to Westmynster halle,' and then returned 'into Gray-yn to dener, and after dener they whent unto Powlls, and so whent up the stepes, and so round the qwere and ther dyd they ther homage, and so came unto the north-syd of Powlles and stod a-pone the stepes ontil iiij old serjeantes came together and feytchyd iiij new, and broght them unto serten pelers (pillars), and left them, and then dyd feyched the resedue unto the pelers.'¹

In reference to this custom, Mr. Cunningham says that, when Laud consecrated the Church of St. Catherine Cree, he pronounced a curse upon all who should make a Law Court of it.²

The *Si*
Quis Door.

Then there was a door which was called the *Si Quis* door, on which notices of all kinds were placarded. Things lost, servants wanting places, parsons wanting livings, all made known their wants on this door. Decker says,³ 'The first time that you venture into Paul's, pass through the body of the Church like a porter, yet presume not to fetch so much as one whole turn in the middle aisle, no nor to cast an eye to *Si Quis* door, pasted and plastered up with serving-men's supplications, before you have paid tribute to the top of Paul's steeple with a single penny.' The editor of Decker says that *Si Quis* has been defined 'A paper set up in some open place to proclaim anything lost,'

¹ Edition printed for the Camden Society, edited by J. G. Nichols, F.S.A. (1848), p. 27.

² *Hand Book for London* (1849), 2 vols., vol. ii. p. 629 (note).

³ P. 102.

and there can be but little doubt that these notices were often prefaced by the words 'Si Quis invenerit.'¹ The following passage from 'Hall's Satires' points out where the *Si Quis* door stood :—

CHAP.
IV.

'Sawst thou ever *Si quis* patched on Paul's Church door,
To seek some vacant vicarage before ?
Who wants a churchman that can service say,
Read fast and fair his monthly homily,
And wed, and bury, and make christian souls,
Come to the *left-side alley* of Saint Paul's.'

Virgidemiarum, Sat. V. Book II.

Chaucer also alludes to the practice of hiring clergy-men at St. Paul's :—

'He sette not his benefice to hire,
And lette his shepe acombred in the mire,
And ran unto London, unto Seint Poules,
To seken him a chanterie for soules,
Or with a brotherhede to be withold.'

Canterbury Tales, line 509.

We now come to a strange story about a horse that climbed up to the top of St. Paul's. After telling his gallant that he must go 'to the top of St. Paul's steeple,' and cautioning him, when he gets there, to 'take heed how you look down into the yard, for the rails are as rotten as your great grandfather'—in consequence of the neglect of the Cathedral at that time (circa 1609)—Decker says, 'from hence you may descend, to talk about the horse that went up.'² This refers to a horse called Marocco, which belonged to a man named Bankes.

The horse
Marocco.

It is difficult to come to any conclusion as to the tricks performed by this horse, but they are alluded to by so many writers of the time that it is impossible to doubt that he performed many curious feats, although

¹ Probably it was originally a door on which purely ecclesiastical notices were posted.

² P. 104.

CHAP.
IV.The horse
Marocco.

it cannot be imagined that he ever climbed up the steeple.

Dr. Rimbault, the editor of the edition of *Maroccus Extaticus*, published by the Percy Society, in 1843, gives the following account of the horse and his master. He says, 'The various accomplishments and exploits of "Bankes' horse" are alluded to by almost every writer towards the close of the sixteenth and first half



COPY OF A WOODCUT ON THE TITLE-PAGE OF 'MAROCCUS EXTATICUS.

of the succeeding century. At what period the horse was first exhibited in London must now be a matter of conjecture; but we are led to conclude, from various circumstances, that it was not before the year 1590. The horse was named Marocco, and was the property of a person named Bankes, who, according to the author of the *Life of Moll Cutpurse*, 1662, was a vintner in Cheapside, who taught his horse to dance, and shod him with silver.'

The earliest notice we find of Marocco's popularity occurs in a MS. copy of one of Dr. Donne's Satires,¹

¹ Dated 1593, and preserved in the British Museum (Harl. MSS., No. 5110).

but he must have acquired an immense share of public favour prior to the year 1595, when the *Maroccus Extaticus* was first printed. In 1600, the horse attracted considerable notice by ascending to the top of St. Paul's Cathedral (?), a feat which, according to *Owles Almanacke*, highly delighted 'a number of asses' who 'stood braying below.' This exploit was celebrated by Middleton in his *Blacke Booke*, 1604, by Rowley in his *Search for Money*, 1600, and by numerous other contemporary writers. The horse is described in a French translation of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, by the translator who had seen the horse, as a middle-sized bay English gelding about fourteen years old.

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IV.

The horse
Marocco.

The horse is also mentioned in a letter, dated Feb. 3rd, 1601, from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, who was then at the Hague. This letter, like all the correspondence between Chamberlain and Carleton, is very amusing. Among other gossip communicated to his friend, he says that the Duke of Bracciano was on a visit in England, and that 'the Queen graciously entertained him, and danced both measures and galliards before him, to show that she is not so old as some would have her.' This, certainly, has nothing to do with St. Paul's; but he goes on to say, 'New experiments are daily made; last week one came hopping from Charing Cross to St. Paul's in a sack, and another riding a horse on the top of Paul's steeple.'¹

Bankes unluckily took his horse to Rome, where, according to the author of *Don Zaradel Fogo*,² both man and horse were burnt, by order of the Pope, as wizards.

In 'Love's Labour's Lost,' Act i. Scene 2, Moth says to Armado, alluding to some other tricks performed by this horse, 'How easy it is to put years to

¹ *Calendars, Domestic*, 1598-1601, p. 544.

² P. 114.

CHAP.

IV.

Repression
of desec-
ration.

the word three, and study three years in two words,
the dancing horse will tell you.'

The minor desecrations of St. Paul's were enquired into and forbidden, but I cannot discover that the 'gallants' were interfered with. In March, 1632, Attorney-General Noy and Dr. Thomas Rives, the King's advocate, were consulted as to the best way of remedying the abuse and profanation of St. Paul's. The abuses were said to be, 'Walking there during Divine Service, and on Sundays and festival days the boys and maids and children of the adjoining parishes, after dinner, come into the Church and play as children use to do till dark night, whence comes that inordinate noise which many times suffers not the preacher to be heard.'¹ Shortly after this were issued 'Articles by His Majesty's command to be observed by all persons in St. Paul's. I. No man to walk in the Church during Divine Service. II. No man to profane the Church by carriage of burthens or baskets. III. Parents and masters to forbid their children and servants to play in the Church.'²

Ears cut
off.

Brawling in the Church was punished with far greater severity, seventy years previously. Henry Machyn, the diarist and furnisher of funerals, tells us that on 'the xv day of December (1561) was a pelere sett up in Powlles Chyrche-yerd agaynst the Byshope's plase for a man that mayd a fray in Powlle's Chyrche, and ys ere nayllyd to the post, and after cutt off, for a fray in Powlles Chyrche.'³

In 1554 the Lord Mayor issued the following proclamation 'For the preventing of Profanation and Abuses offered to St. Paul's.'

¹ *Calendars, Domestic*, 1631-33, p. 300.

² *Ibid.* p. 491.

³ Machyn's *Diary*, p. 273.

'This Act of Common Council was made August the 1st, Anno 1 and 2 of Philip and Mary.

CHAP.
IV.

'Forasmuch as the material Temples of God were first ordained for the lawful and devout Assembly of People, there to lift their Hearts, and to laud and praise Almighty God; and to hear his Divine Service, and most Holy Word and Gospel, sincerely said, sung, and taught; and not to be used as Markets, or other profane Places, or Thorow-fares, with carriage of Things: And for that (now of late years) many of the Inhabitants of the City of *London*, and other People repairing thither, have, (and yet do) commonly use and acustom themselves very unseemly and unreverently (the more the pity) to make their common Carriage of great Vessels full of Ale and Beer, great Baskets full of Bread, Fish, Flesh, and Fruit, and such other Things; Fardels of Stuff, and other gross Wares and Things, thorow the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul's*. And some, in leading Moyles, Horses, and other Beasts through the same unreverently; to the great Dishonour and Displeasure of Almighty God, and the great Grief also, and Offence, of all good People: Be it therefore, for remedy and reformation thereof, Ordained, Enacted, and Established, &c., That no Person, either Free or Foreign, of what Estate or Condition soever, do at any time from henceforth, carry or convey, or cause to be carried through the said Cathedral, any manner of great Vessel or Basket with Bread, Ale, Beer, Fish, Flesh, &c., or any other like Thing or Things, upon pain of forfeiture or losing for every such his or their first Offence, 3s. 4d., for the second 6s. 8d., for the third 10s., and for every other Offence, after such third time, to forfeit 10s. and to suffer two Days' and two Nights' Imprisonment, without Bail or Mainprise.

The Lord
Mayor's
proclama-
tion in
1554,
against the
profana-
tion.

CHAP.
IV.The Lord
Mayor's
Proclama-
tion.

The one moiety of all which Pains and Penalties, shall be to *Christ's Hospital* within *Newgate*, and the other half to him that will sue for the same in any Court of Record within the City; by Bill, original Complaint, or Information, to be commenced or sued in the Name of the Chamberlain of the said City, for the time being; wherein none Essoine or Wager of Law for the Defendant, shall be admitted or allowed.'¹

Dese-
cration of
exterior.

The desecration of the exterior of the Cathedral was, as Mr. Timbs says, 'even more abominable.'² The chantry and other chapels were used for stores and lumber, as a school and a glazier's workshop; parts of the vaults were occupied by a carpenter, and as a wine cellar. In November, 1630, a vault under the Chapter House was let by the Dean and Chapter to Mr. Sands, of the Green Dragon, who used it for a wine cellar.³ The cloisters were let out to trunk-makers, whose 'knocking and noyse' greatly disturbed the Church Service. Houses were built against the outer walls, in which closets and window ways were made; one was used as a 'play-house,' in another the owner 'baked his bread and his pies in an oven excavated within a buttress;' and for a trifling fee, the bell-ringers allowed wights to ascend the tower, halloo, and throw stones at the passengers beneath. The first recorded lottery in England was drawn at the West Door, in 1569. Furthermore, it is said, there were rope-dancing feats from the battlements of St. Paul's exhibited before Edward VI., and in the reign of Queen Mary, who, the day before her coronation, saw a Dutchman stand-

¹ Styrpe's *London*, 1720, book iii. p. 169.

² The following facts are taken from Timbs' *Curiosities of London*, but, with the exception of the use of one of the vaults as a wine cellar, I have not been able to discover the sources from whence he obtained them.

³ *Calendars, Domestic*, 1629-31, p. 453.

ing upon the weathercock of the steeple, waving a five-yard streamer.

CHAP.
IV.

But the most extraordinary desecration of which it ran in danger was its conversion into a synagogue by the Jews. It is scarcely credible that Cromwell can for a moment have entertained the proposal, but the fact of its being made shows that the idea was not considered to be utterly preposterous. A few months after the Restoration, on November 30th, 1660, a remonstrance was addressed to Charles II. concerning the English Jews, in which it was stated that 'they endeavoured to buy St. Paul's for a synagogue in the late usurper's time.'¹

The Jews
try to buy
St. Paul's
for a syna-
gogue.

There were, however, other curious customs and amusing facts connected with Old St. Paul's, which deserve as much commemoration as the desecration of the building.

Among these it may be mentioned that there was a curious habit (even now kept up on May-day in the tower of Magdalen College, Oxford) of singing anthems in the steeple. Stow says, 'In this steeple were solemn anthems sung in former times: when on some Saints' Days, and some special times of the year, the choir went up into the steeple, and at a great height chanted forth their orisons.' Bishop Pilkington was much scandalised at this practice, and compares it to Elias telling Baal's priests to sing louder, that their God might hear them, and says, 'Until ye find a better argument, I am content freely to lend you this, that ye may frankly say ye go up to the top of the steeple to call on your God, that He may the more easily hear you standing so high.'²

Anthems
sung in the
steeple.

¹ *Calendars, Domestic*, 1660-61, p. 366.

² Stow's *Survey* (Strype's edition), vol. i. p. 640.

CHAP.
IV.

‘The last observance of this custom was in the reign of Queen Mary, when “after even-song the queere of Paule’s began to go about the steeple, singing with lightes after the olde custome.”’¹

The following curious case of what may not unfairly be considered as the selling a birthright for a mess of pottage, is also, perhaps, worthy of a place in this collection of odds and ends about Old St. Paul’s.

Curious
custom of
presenting
a buck and
doe to the
Dean and
Chapter.

Dugdale relates that Sir William le Band, Knight, in A.D. 1275, gave² ‘a doe yearly in winter, and a fat buck in summer; to be offered at the high altar, and then to be distributed amongst the canons resident.’ Sir William le Band must not have the credit of charity in making this gift, for it was a matter of bargain between him and the Dean and Chapter; and a very good bargain he made. He gave this buck and doe ‘in lieu of 22 acres of land, lying within the Lordship of Westlee, in Essex, to be inclosed within his park of Toringham.’ The reception of the buck and doe was, ‘till Queen Elizabeth’s days, solemnly performed at the steps of the Quire, by the Canons of this Cathedral, attired in their sacred vestments, and wearing garlands of flowers on their heads; and the horns of the buck carried on the top of a spear, in procession, round about, within the body of the Church; with a great noise of horn-blowers.’³

The amusingly quaint speech of Bishop⁴ Corbet, at a synod of his diocese, pressing them to contribute to the repair of St. Paul’s, will appropriately conclude the account of Old St. Paul’s, and prepare the way for the

¹ Timbs, p. 104.

² Dugdale, pp. 17, 18.

³ Ibid., p. 18.

⁴ Dr. Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, to which see he was translated in 1632. He died in 1635, and was buried in his own Cathedral. He had been previously Bishop of Oxford. The address is copied from the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 750.

history of the attempts at restoration before the Great Fire.

‘One word in the behalf of St. Paul : he hath spoken many in ours : he hath raised our inward temples ; let us help to requite him in his outward. We admire commonly those things which are oldest and greatest ; old monuments and high buildings do affect us above measure ; and what’s the reason ? Because what is ancient cometh nearer God for antiquity, and what is greatest comes nearest His works for spaciousness and magnitude ; so that in honouring these we honour God, whom old and great do seem to imitate. Should I commend Paul’s to you for the age, it were worth your thoughts and admiration ; a thousand years, though it should fall now, were a pretty climacterical ; see the bigness, and your eye never yet beheld such a goodly object : it’s worth your reparation, though it were but for a landmark. But, beloved, it’s a Church, and consecrated to God. Two kings the Fathers, and Princes since the Nurses, from Charles to Ethelbert, she hath been the joy of princes. It was once dedicated to Diana, at least some part of it ; but the idolatry lasted not long ; and see a mystery in the change : St. Paul confuting twice the Idol : there, in person, where the cry was, “Great is Diana of the Ephesians !” and here, by proxy, Paul installed while Diana is thrust out. It did magnify the Creation, that it was taken out of darkness ; Light is not the clearer for it, but stranger and more wonderful ; and it doth beautify this Church because it was taken from pollution. The stones are not the more durable, but the happier for it. It is worthy the standing for the age, the time since it was built, and for the structure, so stately an edifice it is. It is worthy to

CHAP.
IV.

Bishop
Corbet’s
speech.

CHAP.
IV.Bishop
Corbet's
speech.

stand for a memorial of that from which it is redeemed, but chiefly for His house that dwells therein. We are bound to do it for the service' sake that is done in it. Are we not beholding to it every man, either to the body or the quire; for a walk or a warbling note; for a prayer or a throwpath; someway or other there is a topic may make room for your benevolence. It hath twice suffered martyrdom, and both by fire, in the 22nd of Henry the Sixth and the 3rd of Elizabeth. St. Paul complained of stoning twice; his Church of firing. Stoning she wants indeed, and a good stoning would repair her. St. Faith holds her up, I confess: O that Works were sainted too, to keep her upright!

'The first way of building churches was by way of benevolence; but then there needed no petition: men came on so fast that they were commanded to be kept back; but repairing now needs petition. Benevolence was a fire once had need to be quenched; it is a spark now, and needs blowing, or it dies. Blow it hard, and put it out. Some petitions there are for pulling down of such an aisle, or changing lead for thack; so far from reparation, that our suit is to demolish. - If to deny this be persecution, if to repair churches be innovation and Popery, I'll be of that religion too. I remember a tale in Henry Stevens, in his Apology for Herodotus, or in some of the Colloquies of Erasmus, which would have us believe the times were so depraved in Popery, that all œconomical discipline was lost by observing the œcumenical; that if an ingenious youth would ask his father's blessing, he must first get a dispensation, and have a licence from the Bishop. Believe me when I match this tale with another: Since Christmas I was sued to (and I have it under the hands of the minister and the whole parish) that

I would give way to the adorning of the Church within and without, to build a stone wall about the Churchyard, which till now had but a hedge. I took it for a flout at first, but it proved a suit indeed: they durst not mend a fault of forty years old without a licence. Churchwardens, though they say it not, yet I doubt me most of them think what the foul spirit in the Gospel said: "O, thou Bishop or Chancellor, why art thou come to torment us before our time, that all is come down to the ground?"

CHAP.
IV.
Bishop
Corbet's
speech.

'The truth went out once in this phrase, *Zelus domûs tuæ exedit ossa mea*; but now, vice versâ, it is *Zelus meus exedit domum tuam*. I hope I gall none here. Should Christ say that to us now, which He said once to the Jews, "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will build it up again," we would quickly know His meaning not to be the material Temple. Three years scarce can promote three foot. I am verily persuaded were it not for the Pulpit and the Pews (I do not now mean the Altar and the Font for the two Sacraments), but for the Pulpit and the Stools, as you call them; many churches had been down that stand. Stately Pews are now become Tabernacles, with rings and curtains to them: there wants nothing but Beds to hear the Word of God on. We have casements, locks and keys, curtains and cushions—I had almost said bolsters and pillows; and for these we love the Church. I will not guess what is done within them, who sits, stands, or lies asleep at Prayers, Communion, &c.; but this I dare say,—they are either to hide some vice, or to proclaim one; to hide disorder, or to proclaim pride.

'In all other contributions Justice precedes Charity. For the King, or for the Poor, as you are rated, you

CHAP.

IV.

Bishop
Corbet's
speech.

must give and pay. It is not so in a Benevolence : here Charity rates herself ; her gift is arbitrary, and her law is the conscience. He that stays till I persuade him gives not all his own money ; I give half that have procured it. He that comes persuaded gives his own, but takes off more than he brought, God paying use for nothing but [that]. Now your turn comes to speak, or God in you, by your hands, for so He useth to speak many times : by the hands of Moses and Aaron, and by the hands of Esaias and Ezekiel, and by the hands of you his minor prophets.

‘Now prosper, O Lord, the works of their hands,
O prosper Thou our handywork. Amen.’

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND CATHEDRAL NEARLY DESTROYED BY FIRE—
QUEEN ELIZABETH ORDERS ITS RESTORATION, AND
JAMES THE FIRST APPOINTS INIGO JONES ARCHITECT
FOR THAT PURPOSE—CHARLES THE FIRST CARRIES
ON THE WORK—PROGRESS STOPPED BY THE CIVIL
WAR.

CHAPTER V.

THE second Cathedral lasted until destroyed by the Great Fire of London; but, independently of its narrow escape while building, in 1136, it suffered severely from fire, caused in both instances by lightning, twice before that time. The first was in 1444 (23 Henry VI.). ‘This year Paule’s Steple was set on Fier with Lightening on Candilmas Even, but after quenchild by the Morow Messe Prest of Bow.’¹ Stow’s account² is fuller and somewhat different. He says, ‘The first of February, in the year 1444, about two o’clock of the afternoon, the Steeple of St. Paul’s was fired by Lightning, in the midst of the Shaft or Spire, both on the west side and on the south; but by the labour of many well-disposed people, the same, to appearance, quenched with vinegar (?), so that all men withdrew themselves to their houses, praising God; but between eight and nine of the clock in the same night, the fire burst out again, more fervently than before, and did much hurt to the lead and timber, till, by the great labour of the Mayor and people that came thither, it was thoroughly quenched.’ So much damage was done, that it was not completely repaired for 18 years³ (1462).

CHAP.
V.

Old St.
Paul’s
nearly de-
stroyed by
fire in A.D.
1444.

The second fire was about a century later, in 1561,

¹ Leland’s *Collectanea*, vol. i. part 2, p. 493 (the Priest of Bow, who said the early morning Mass).

² Vol. i. p. 639.

³ Dugdale, p. 135.

CHAP.

V.

Second fire
in A.D.
1561.

and was a much more serious affair. The following graphic account of this calamity is given by Dean Milman: ¹—‘ In this year a terrific storm burst over London. The Church of St. Martin’s, Ludgate Hill, was struck by lightning ; huge stones came toppling down on the roof and on the pavement. The alarm was not over, when the lightning was seen to flash into an aperture in the steeple of the Cathedral. The steeple was made of wood covered with lead. The fire burned downwards for four hours with irresistible force, the bells melted, the timber blazed, the stones crumbled and fell. The lead flowed down in sheets of flame, threatening, but happily not damaging, the organ. The fire ran along the roof, east, west, north, and south, which fell in, filling the whole Church with a mass of ruin.’ ²

Queen
Elizabeth
orders the
Cathedral
to be re-
paired.

The steeple was never rebuilt, nor even repaired, but the repair of the roofs was immediately taken in hand. Queen Elizabeth, ‘ out of a deep apprehension of this lamentable accident, forthwith directed her letters to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring him to take some speedy order for its repair ; and to further the work gave, out of her own purse, a thousand marks in gold ; as also warrants for a thousand loads of timber, to be taken in her woods, or elsewhere.’ ³ The Citizens, the Clergy, the Law Officers, the Bishop of London, and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul’s, also contributed liberally, and the total sum thus raised amounted to nearly 7,000*l.* ⁴ ‘ Six citizens of London,

Publiccon-
tributions
towards
restora-
tion.

¹ Taken chiefly from Stow, vol. i. p. 644, and from Maitland’s *History of London*, 2 vols. folio, 1772, vol. i. p. 255.

² Milman, p. 277.

³ Dugdale, p. 136 ; and Stow, vol. i. p. 645.

⁴ Dugdale, p. 137. This sum was probably equal to about 21,000*l.*, or, in purchasing power, to about from 80,000*l.* to 100,000*l.* of our day. (See Longman’s *Lectures on the History of England*, vol. i. p. 416.)

and two petty Canons of St. Paul's Church, by order of the Privy Council, had charge to further and oversee the work; wherein such expedition was used, that within one month next following the burning thereof, the Church was covered with Boards and Lead, in manner of a false roof against the weather; and before the end of the same year, all the said Isles of the Church were framed out of new timber, covered with lead, and fully finished. The same year also, the great roofs of the west and east ends were framed out of great timber in Yorkshire, brought from thence to London by sea, and set up and covered with lead: the north and south ends were framed of timber, and covered with lead, before April, 1566.¹

CHAP.
V.

It is evident, however, that the restoration of the Cathedral was very imperfectly effected; for, nearly sixty years afterwards (A.D. 1620), King James I., 'having been frequently solicited by one Master Farley, for the space of eight years before—who, though a private man, was so extremely zealous to promote the work, that he ceased not by sundry petitions to importune the King therein—his princely heart was moved with such compassion to this decayed fabrick, that for prevention of its near approaching ruin, with the corroding quality of the coal smoak, considering with himself how vast the charge would be, as also, that without very great and public helps, it could not be borne,' went in great state to the Cathedral, on Sunday, March 26, 1620. He rode on horseback, attended by all the principal nobility, and was met by the Lord Mayor and City dignitaries with great pomp. The Bishop of London preached a sermon at Paul's Cross on a text given him by the King.

James I.
takes the
restoration
in hand.

¹ Stow, vol. i. p. 645.

CHAP.
V.

Royal
Commis-
sion issued
in A.D.
1620.

After the service, followed by a great banquet at the Bishop's palace, he held a consultation as to what should be done. The result was, that on the 16th day of the following November, a Royal Commission was appointed to consider what measures should be taken towards restoring the Church, and removing the houses built too close to it, and in what way the necessary funds should be raised. The Lord Mayor of London was the first person named on this Commission, and among others we find 'Inigo Jones, Esquire, Surveyor of His Majesty's Works.'¹

Inigo
Jones ap-
pointed
architect.

Inigo Jones, as the King's Surveyor, was the architect under whose orders these restorations were carried out; but, however great he may have been as an architect, it now seems clear to us that he made an important mistake in adding an Italian Portico to a Gothic building. Inigo Jones knew nothing about Gothic architecture, and only did what all other improvers, or succeeding architects, did to the edifices of their predecessors; that is to say, he designed his works in the style of the period in which he lived. The universality of the practice, of the Romanesque Mediæval and Renaissance architects, of carrying out in the style of their own day any addition to existing buildings, is patent by examples in the vast majority of the great buildings of Europe. It is only recently, however, that the same practice, which might reasonably have been attributed to the Greeks, has been proved to have been adopted by them. MM. Hittorff and Zanth, in their interesting work, '*Monuments de Ségeste et de Sélinonte*' (Paris, 1870), have been the first to notice that in the great temple of Selinuntum

¹ Dugdale, pp. 137, 138; and Stow, vol. i. pp. 645, 646.

there are two distinct styles of Doric architecture, indicating dates of execution more than a century apart. This is the more remarkable as a proof of the independent spirit of the ancient architect in the case of a building so severe in its unity as a Greek temple.

No architect, until the present day, would have thought of designing any work—whether restoration or otherwise—in any style but the prevalent one of his day—and that one, in Inigo Jones' time, was anti-Gothic. As Dean Milman says,¹ 'Throughout Christendom the feeling, the skill, the tradition of Gothic architecture had entirely died out. . . . The Reformers wanted not for their new Churches the wealth that had been lavished on the old; they required not for their simpler worship the vastness, height, long processional aisles, broad naves, and rich choirs. . . . The great Jesuit reaction, while labouring to resuscitate mediæval doctrines, repudiated mediæval architecture and mediæval art.'

The Gothic sides which he renewed were therefore bad Gothic, and, as Horace Walpole says, 'Inigo made two capital faults. He first renewed the sides with very bad Gothic, and then added a Roman portico, magnificent and beautiful indeed, but which had no affinity with the ancient parts that remained, and made the Gothic appear ten times heavier.'² So far as St. Paul's is concerned, it is fortunate that Inigo Jones was prevented from completing the restoration by the breaking out of the Civil War.

His mistakes.

The collection of funds for carrying out Inigo Jones' plans made but little advance, and nothing was done towards the repair of the Cathedral for eight years,

¹ P. 336.

² Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, edited by Dallaway, 1826, vol. ii, p. 336.

CHAP.
V.

New Com-
mission is-
sued in
1631 by
Charles I.

Register
Book.

Restora-
tion con-
sidered a na-
tional
object.

Sir Paul
Pindar's
generosity.

when William Laud became Bishop of London (1628–33). His zeal for the Church and his active spirit infused a new life into the work, and on April 10, 1631, a new Commission was issued by Charles the First for the restoration of the Cathedral.

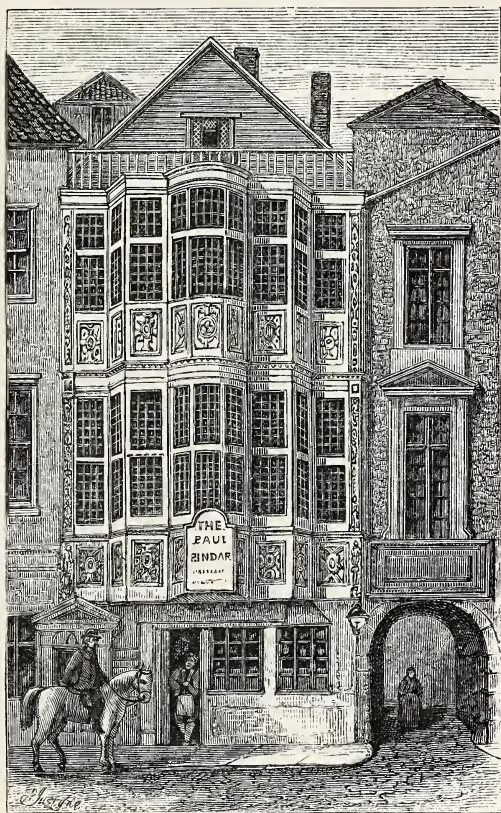
It was declared that all sums received should be paid to the City Chamberlain, and it was ordered that, 'as in King James' time,' (and as was subsequently done in 1664 and 1678, and again in 1872,) 'a Register Book of all subscriptions for contributions thereunto should be made,' that, on the occasion of any person dying intestate, the Judges of the Prerogative Court and the officials of the various dioceses 'should be excited to remember this Church, out of what was proper to be given to pious uses;' and that letters patent should be 'issued for the receiving of public contributions from all people throughout the kingdom.'¹

Contributions from all parts of the country then flowed in with a spirit worthy of emulation on every like occasion. The repair of the Cathedral was deemed a national object, and the nation poured forth its wealth for the restoration of the national Cathedral. In twenty months sufficient funds were collected to justify the Commissioners in beginning their meetings. The first was held in December 1632. In the following April the work of repair was actually begun. Among the individual contributors, none was so generous as a citizen of London, a Turkey merchant, Sir Paul Pindar, who had been the English Ambassador at Constantinople in the reign of James I. 'At his own charge he repaired the end of the quire, adorning the front thereof, outwards, with fair pillars of black marble, and statues of those Saxon kings which had been

¹ Stow, vol. i. p. 646.

founders or benefactors to the Church, beautified the inner part thereof with figures of angels, and all the wainscote work of the quire with excellent carving,'

CHAP.
V.



SIR PAUL PINDAR'S HOUSE IN BISHOPSGATE STREET.

View of the Front of Sir Paul Pindar's House on the west side of Bishopsgate Street Without.
"This was formerly the residence of Sir Paul Pindar, Consul to Aleppo, Ambassador to Constantinople, and a public Benefactor during the reign of King James I." Taken from an engraving in Wilkinson's *Londina illustrata*, 1812.

and 'afterwards bestowed four thousand pounds in repairing of the South Cross.'¹ The total sum thus contributed by this noble merchant is said to have amounted to about 10,000*l*.

¹ Dugdale, p. 143; and Stow, vol. i. p. 646.

CHAP.
V.
Account
of receipts
and expen-
diture.

Up to October 29, 1639, when the accounts were audited, the chamber of London had received the sum of 89,489*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*, of which they had paid 9,628*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* ‘unto several persons for houses demolished and other necessary charges,’ and to a Mr. Grigg, or Griggs, who was probably what would now be called the foreman or clerk of the works, 1,452*l.* ‘to be paid by him for several houses (also) demolished,’ and 68,000*l.* ‘for the repair of the body of the church, choir, and west end.’ This left the chamber with 10,408*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* in hand. The sum received by Mr. Griggs for the demolished houses was paid by him without being taken account of in his general statement, according to which he had received 68,000*l.* from the City Chamberlain, and 4,000*l.* from Sir Paul Pindar. Of this sum he paid 65,269*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* for the repairs of the ‘east and west end’ and ‘north and south sides,’ and therefore when the accounts were audited he had in hand 6,730*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*, which, together with the sum in the hands of the Chamberlain, left the sum of 17,138*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in hand towards the repair of the Cathedral.

Contributions had flowed in copiously till the end of 1640, but in 1641, when the nation’s troubles began, they suddenly dropped from above 10,000*l.* received in 1640 to less than 2,000*l.*; in the following year 2,000*l.* was received, but in 1643, 15*l.* was the whole amount received by the City Chamberlain towards the restoration. Nearly 14,000*l.* was received from the time of auditing the accounts in 1639 up to the end of 1643, in addition to the sum then in hand; but, according to Stow, the sum of 35,551*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* was expended. It is clear therefore that sums of money, of which Stow gives no account, must have been received; for he speaks of the sum expended as if it were too little, whereas it was

more than had, by his account, been received, and he accounts for the small expenditure by saying, 'for in October 1642 the flames of our civil dissensions broke violently out; so that there was not only an unhappy period put to this good and praiseworthy work, but by the votes of Parliament, made September the 10th, anno 1642, the very foundation of this famous Cathedral was utterly shaken in pieces.' 'The famous Cross in the Church Yard, which had been for many ages the most solemn place in this nation for the greatest divines and most eminent scholars to preach at, was pulled down to the ground,' 'but its site was long denoted by a tall elm tree.'¹ 'In the month of March ensuing, the houses and revenues belonging to the Dean and Chapter of this Cathedral were seized on by order likewise of the said Parliament; together with all money, goods, or materials, bought or given for repairing or finishing of this Church, were seized on and disposed of.'²

CHAP.
V.

Restoration stopped by
Civil War.

¹ Timbs' *Curiosities of London*, 8vo. ed., p. 105.

² Stow, vol. i. p. 647.

CHAPTER VI.

RESTORATION OF THE CATHEDRAL RESUMED BY CHARLES

THE SECOND—WREN APPOINTED ONE OF THE COM-
MISSIONERS FOR CARRYING OUT THE RESTORATION—
HIS PLAN—THE CATHEDRAL DESTROYED BY THE
GREAT FIRE OF 1666.

CHAPTER VI.

DARK and troublous times now followed for the Cathedral, as well as for the nation. As Dean Milman says, 'With Puritanism in the ascendant, St. Paul's became a vast useless pile. . . . The Cathedral was not destroyed, for it would have been a work of cost and labour to destroy it . . . but the balance remaining of subscriptions was diverted to other uses. . . . The Cathedral was left to chance, exposed at least to neglect, too often to wanton or inevitable mischief. . . . The portico was let for mean shops. . . . The body of the Church became a cavalry barrack.'¹

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Neglect of
the Cathedral
by the
Puritans.

At length, after eighteen years of strife, there was peace in the land. Charles the Second ascended the throne, and no time was lost in considering what should be done towards the restoration of the Cathedral. It was in absolute ruin. In 1663 John Barwick, who had been made Dean of Durham after the Restoration, and had set to work actively to repair the noble Cathedral of that City, which had suffered much, not only from the neglect of the Puritans, but from the ravages of the Scots, was summoned to the Deanery of St. Paul's.² One of the chief reasons for his transference was, apparently, that he might deal in like manner with the Cathedral to which he was now attached; and shortly after his appointment, King Charles issued a

The Restoration.

Barwick
appointed
Dean of
St. Paul's
by Charles
II.

¹ Milman, pp. 347, 352, 353, and Stow, vol. i. p. 647.

² Milman, p. 360.

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Commis-
sion issued
April 18,
1663.

commission, on April 18, 1663, to consider what should be done to further the restoration, or rebuilding of St. Paul's. Large sums were soon collected, and the work was begun on the first day of August the same year.¹ What the Commissioners did consisted chiefly in taking down the houses that encroached on the Cathedral, in ascertaining the extent of its decay, in examining the quality of stone from the Isle of Portland—the crews of the ships carrying it being freed from impressment²—and from Beere in Devonshire, in making other preparations of material, and in repairing the portico. But, in one way or another, they managed to spend, from August 1663 till August 1666, nearly 3,600*l.*, and, apparently without much to show for it.

Dean
Barwick
collects
funds for
restora-
tion.

The
'Booke
of Sub-
scriptions.'

Dean Barwick died in October 1664—less than two years after his appointment—but he lived long enough to make, as already stated, considerable preparations for the intended restoration, and set on foot a plan for collecting funds to meet the expenses. Under the King's instructions, he ordered a book to be prepared for the receipt of subscriptions, 'like unto those which were kept in the times of our dear Grandfather and Father.' This book is still preserved in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral. It is called 'A Booke of Subscriptions towards the Repaire of the Cathedrall Church of St. Paul in London.' Many of the signatures in it are of great interest. Among these may be mentioned that of Charles the Second, who gives 1,000*l.* a year to be paid quarterly. Gilbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, contributes handsomely. He

¹ Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, new edition, edited by Henry Ellis, F.R.S. (1818), pp. 116, 123.

² *The Calendars of State Papers, Domestic*, contain continual notices of this.

writes, on July 2, 1664, 'Because I have been Bishop of London, and thereby have received more then ordinary Profits, I doe subscribe to give freely towards the Repayre of the Cathedrall Church of that see the summe of 2,000*l.* to be payd (if the work shall be undertaken and goe on uninterrupted).' Lord Clarendon, whose handwriting is almost illegible, gives 50*l.*, with the following condition, 'If I lyve and hold the place I now have.' Lord Southampton, who gives 50*l.* a year, and Lord Anglesey, who promises 20*l.* a year 'as long as the work continues,' make the same condition as to place-holding as Lord Clarendon. The Duke of Albemarle signs his name for 40*l.* a year; the Duke of Ormonde for 50*l.* annually 'during my life;' and the Earl of Sandwich gives 30*l.* a year under like conditions. The Archbishop of York gives 100*l.* a year, and the Bishops of London and Winchester each give 100*l.* a year so long as they receive the revenues of their bishopricks.

Sir Christopher, then Doctor Wren, was probably at that time appointed one of the Commissioners.¹ There was not much, however, done for three years, when Wren drew up a report, which, as already related, was laid before the Commissioners about May 1, 1666, on the defects of the old building, and then sketched out his ideas as to the way in which the damage to the Cathedral should be repaired. At that time, Evelyn,² in the dedication of his work to Wren,

Wren
called in
to advise.

¹ See Elmes' *Life*, p. 219.

² John Evelyn's name is not mentioned (nor indeed is that of Wren) in the list of Commissioners appointed by the King—1663, but it is evident from the above extract from the dedication of his *Account of Architecture*, which was published in 1664, that before that time he had acted with Wren in that capacity; and that there had, from the very beginning, been great discussion as to the course that should be taken with the Cathedral.

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says, 'You will not, I am sure, forget the Struggle we had with some, who were for patching it up any how, (so the steeple might stand,) instead of New Building, which it altogether needed :'¹ nevertheless, Wren evidently then thought that, although there was much indeed to be done, entire reconstruction was not necessary ; but, like Inigo Jones, he intended to add Italian architecture to the Gothic Cathedral, 'after a good Roman manner,' instead of 'the Gothick Rudeness of the old Design.'²

Wren's report on the restoration of Old St. Paul's.

The following extracts from Wren's report fully explain his ideas, and are sufficient evidence that at this time—before the Great Fire—he did not intend entire rebuilding. He says, 'Among the propositions that may be made to your Lordships, concerning the Repair of St. Paul's, some may possibly aim at too great magnificence, which neither the disposition nor extent of this age will probably bring to a period. Others again may fall so low as to think of piecing up the old Fabrick, here with Stone, there with Brick, and cover all faults with a Coat of a Plaister, leaving it still to posterity, as a further object of Charity. I suppose your Lordships may think proper to take a middle way, and to neglect nothing that may conduce to a decent uniform beauty, or durable firmness in the Fabrick, or suitableness to the expence already laid out on the outside : especially since it is a Pile both for ornament and use.' Then, after enumerating the defects of the old building, he says, 'As the outside of the Church was new flagg'd with Stone of larger size than before' (referring probably to Inigo Jones' repairs), 'so ought the inside also : and in doing this, it will be as easy to perform it after

Wren's proposals.

¹ Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Works*, 4to. (1825) p. 351.

² *Parentalia*, p. 275. And see note at end of the chapter as to Wren's dislike of Gothic architecture.

a good Roman manner as to follow the Gothick Rudeness of the old Design.' He next states his opinion that there must be a new roof, 'either a timbered roof plaistered, which, in such buildings where a little Soke of Weather is not presently discovered or remedied, will soon decay; or else, a thinner and lighter shell of stone, very geometrically proportioned to the Strength of the Butment. The Roof may be brick, if it be plaistered with Stucco, which is a harder plaister, that will not fall off with the drip of a few winters, and which to this day remains firm in many Ancient Roman buildings.'

After this, Wren, in stating how he should deal with the central portion, first breathes out his nascent ideas of the magnificent plan he eventually accomplished. He says, 'I cannot propose a better remedy than by cutting off the inner corners of the Cross, *to reduce this middle part into a spacious Dome* or Rotundo, with a Cupola or hemispherical roof, and upon the Cupola, a Lantern with a spiring top, to rise proportionably.'¹ By this means, he adds (as Dean Milman² says, 'with prophetic vision of the many thousands who, in our Sunday-evening services, meet under his Dome'), 'the Church will be rendered spacious in the middle, which may be a very proper place for a vast auditory.' He then proceeds, in words to be carefully borne in mind at the present time, to propose that 'for the encouragement and satisfaction of benefactors that comprehend not readily designs and draughts on paper, as well as for the inferior artificers' clearer intelligence of their business, it will

Wren proposes a Dome.

¹ This design is represented in the illustration which accompanies the next chapter.

² Page 363.

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be requisite that a large and exact model be made ; which will also have this use, that if the work should happen to be interrupted, or retarded, posterity may proceed where the work was left off, pursuing still the same design.’¹ He proposes to begin with the Dome, as being the most likely to give satisfaction and produce further contributions, ‘and as the Portico built by Inigo Jones, being an intire and excellent piece, gave great reputation to the work in the first repairs, and occasioned fair contributions, so to begin now with the Dome may probably prove the best advice, being an absolute piece of itself, and what will most likely be finished in our time ; will make by far the most splendid appearance ; may be of present use for the Auditory, and become an Ornament to his Majesty’s most excellent Reign.’

Evelyn’s
account of
the pro-
ceedings of
the Com-
missioners.

Evelyn relates the history of the steps that were taken by the Commissioners :—

‘A.D. 1666. August 25.

‘Then to my Lord Chancellor, who had, with the Bishop of London and others in the commission, chosen me one of the three surveyors of the repairs of Paul’s, and to consider of a model for the new building, or, it might be, repairing of the steeple, which was most decayed. 27th.—I went to Paul’s Church, where, with Dr. Wren, Mr. Pratt, Mr. May, Mr. Thomas Chicheley, Mr. Slingsby, the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul’s, and several expert workmen, we went about to survey the general decays of that ancient and venerable Church, and to set down in writing the particulars of what was fit to be done, with the charge thereof, giving our opinion from article to article. Finding the main building to recede outwards, it was the opinion of Chicheley and Mr. Pratt that it had been so built *ab origine* for an effect in perspective, in regard of the height ; but I was, with Dr. Wren, quite of another judgement, and so we entered it ; we plumbed the uprights in several places. When we came to the steeple, it was deliberated whether it were not well enough to repair it only on

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 277.

its old foundation, with reservation to the four pillars; this Mr. Chicheley and Mr. Pratt were also for, but we totally rejected it, and persisted that it required a new foundation, not only in regard of the necessity, but for that the shape of what stood was very mean, and we had a mind to build it with a noble cupola, a form of church building not as yet known in England, but of wonderful grace. For this purpose we offered to bring in a plan and estimate, which, after much contest, was at last assented to, and that we should nominate a committee of able workmen to examine the present foundation. This concluded, we drew all up in writing, and so went with my Lord Bishop to the Dean's.¹

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OLD ST. PAUL'S ON FIRE.

From a vignette on the title-page of Archbishop Sancroft's *Sermon on the Fire of London*, engraved by W. Hollar in 1666.

The plans and estimates for the reconstruction were ordered on Monday, August 27, 1666; but on Sunday, September 2, the Great Fire broke out, and put an end to all plans for the mere repair of the Cathedral. Pepys thus describes the destruction of St. Paul's by its old enemy:—‘Paul’s is burned and all Cheapside.’² On Friday, the 7th, he ‘is up by five

The Great
Fire.
Pepys’
account.

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, edited by W. Bray, F.A.S., 4 vols. vol. ii. p. 10.

² Pepys (London, 1848), vol. iii. p. 277.

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o'clock, and, blessed be God! found all safe, and by water to Paul's Wharf. Walked there and saw all the town burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's Church, with all the roof fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St. Faith's.'¹

The Great
Fire. Dr.
Taswell's
account.

Another account gives fuller detail of the injury to St. Paul's. A certain Dr. Taswell, then a boy at Westminster School, relates how that on Thursday, the



LUD-GATE ON FIRE.

The Great Fire of London, representing Lud-Gate having just caught fire and the Cathedral of St. Paul involved in flame. 'From an original Picture in the possession of Mrs. Lawrence, of Thames Street, London.'—From Wilkinson's *Londina illustrata*, 1811.

5th, he started soon after sunrise to try to get to St. Paul's. He stopped on Fleet Bridge to cool his feet, which had been almost scorched by the heat of the ground, and then made his way to St. Paul's. He there saw 'the metal belonging to the bells melting; the ruinous condition of the walls, with heaps of stones, of

¹ Pepys (London, 1848), p. 281. For full account of the Great Fire, taken from the *London Gazette*, Sept. 10, 1666, and from Burnet's *Own Times*, see Maitland's *History of London* (ed. 1772), vol. i. p. 433.

a large circumference, tumbling down with a great noise.¹ On Friday, the 7th, Evelyn visited St. Paul's. He says, 'I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly church a sad ruin,' and concludes by saying, 'Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church.'² The destruction was complete.

Of the absurd stories relative to the origin of the fire and its being the wilful act of foreigners and Roman Catholics, it would be apart from my purpose here to take notice. They are to be found detailed in superabundant length in Maitland's *History of London*.

¹ Autobiography and Anecdotes, by William Taswell, D.D., sometime rector of Newington, Surrey, rector of Bermondsey, and previously student of Christ Church, Oxford, A.D. 1651-1682. Edited by George Percy Elliott, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Printed for the Camden Society, 1852.—*Camden Miscellany*, vol. ii.

² Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii. pp. 14, 15.

Note (see p. 80).—Wren's grandson represents him as radically opposed to Gothic architecture; but, especially when one recollects that Wren built the Tower of the Church of St. Dunstan's in the East, and of St. Michael's, Cornhill, in the Gothic style, it is doubtful whether he did so with sufficient information. However, it is only fair to quote Stephen Wren's (the grandson's) statements. In his report on Salisbury Cathedral, Stephen Wren, apparently putting forward his grandfather's opinions, as collected from his MSS., begins with an account of the origin of Gothic architecture, which singularly agrees with Mr. Freeman's views as expressed in the *Fortnightly Review* for October, 1872. He says, 'He was of opinion that what we now vulgarly call the Gothick, ought properly and truly to be named *the Saracenick Architecture refined by the Christians*, which first of all began in the East after the fall of the Greek Empire.' He then goes on to give a most interesting account of the change from the horizontal and rounded forms to the perpendicular and pointed. After this he quotes Evelyn, who says, 'the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations . . . introducing a certain fantastical and licentious manner of building, which we have since called modern or Gothick.' His or his grandson's dislike of Gothic architecture then follows, introduced however with a theory as to its origin inconsistent with what he had just put forward. 'It was after the irruption and swarms of those truculent people from the North; the Moors and Arabs from the South and East . . . soon began to

Stephen Wren's statements as to his grandfather's opinions on Gothic architecture.

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Stephen Wren's statements as to his grandfather's opinions on Gothic architecture.

debauch this noble and useful art. . . . They set up those slender and misshapen pillars, or rather bundles of staves and incongruous props, to support incumbent weights and ponderous arched roofs without entablature, and though not without great industry, nor altogether naked of gaudy sculpture, trite and busy carvings, 'tis such as gluts the eye, rather than gratifies or pleases it with any reasonable satisfaction. For proof of this I dare report myself to any man of judgment, and that has the least taste of order and magnificence, if after a while he has looked upon King Henry 7th's Chapel at Westminster (Sir Christopher Wren, in his Report on Westminster Abbey, calls this chapel "a nice embroidered work"), gazed on its sharp angles, jetties, narrow lights, lame statues, lace and other cutwork and crinkle-cranckle, and shall then turn his eyes on the banquetting house built at Whitehall by Inigo Jones after the ancient manner, or on what his Majesty's Surveyor, Sir Christopher Wren, has advanced at St. Paul's, &c., &c. — *Parentalia*, pp. 306-308.

Stephen Wren correctly represented his grandfather's opinions as to the Saracenic origin of Gothic architecture, although he may have exaggerated his dislike of it. In Wren's Report to the Bishop of Rochester on the State of Westminster Abbey (*Parentalia*, p. 296), Wren says, 'This we now call the Gothic manner of architecture (so the Italians called what was not after the Roman style), though the Goths were rather destroyers than builders; I think it should, with more reason, be called the Saracen style.' Wren then goes on to account for the style they adopted by their use of small stones, their mode of carriage being by camels, and he intimates that we did the same because we had no marble. Afterwards he comments on 'the Saracen mode of building.' He says, 'Nothing was thought magnificent that was not high beyond measure, with the flutter of arch-buttresses, so we call the sloping arches that poise the higher vaulting of the nave. The Romans always concealed their buttments, whereas the Normans thought them ornamental.' 'Pinnacles are of no use, and little ornament.'

Wren not the restorer of the Western Towers of Westminster Abbey.

The following remarks on Wren's supposed treatment of Westminster Abbey have been kindly communicated to me by Mr. Wyatt Papworth:—

Wren has the discredit of building the two western towers of Westminster Abbey. Mr. Cunningham, in his *Handbook* (vol. ii. p. 379), repeats the accepted story. He says, 'The western towers, erected from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren, are in a debased style of mixed Grecian and Gothic, utterly destitute of beauty.'

The architecture of the lower half of these towers is certainly as good as any of Wren's Gothic works, perhaps better than many of them, for he endeavoured to *restore* the work he found, as may be readily perceived. But the upper portions of the towers deserve the comments above quoted. That Wren made a design for these towers is undoubted, as engravings are said to exist of his design; and in his Report he states, 'I have made a design, which will not be very expensive, but light, and still in the Gothic form, and of a style with the rest of the structure,

which I would strictly adhere to throughout the whole intention: to deviate from the whole form would be to run into a disagreeable mixture, which no person of taste could relish.'

It is conceded that Wren made a design for the whole front, but he could not have superintended more than the lower part (begun about 1713), as he died in 1723. The following extract from the *Grub Street Journal*, No. 271, March 6, 1735, explains that 'the West front was never finished, and seems to have been by Providence reserved for the able hand of the judicious Mr. Hawksmore, whose design is to raise the two towers at the extreames of its fronts with spires thereon, which together will rise 140 feet above the present building, and make the total height equal to 260 feet, the height of the church being 120 feet.' N. Hawksmore was first a pupil and then a clerk to Wren, and employed by him at all his great works. He died in 1736, and therefore we must look to some one else for the *carrying out* of the works between 1735-45. Perhaps it was John James, who was a well-known architect, employed after 1711 at St. Paul's as 'master carpenter,' and in 1716 as 'assistant surveyor.' On January 20, 1725, he succeeded W. Dickinson as surveyor at Westminster Abbey, and died shortly before May 30, 1746. The upper portions of the towers exhibit so little of the feeling of the Gothic style, that Wren's name should be disconnected from them.

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Wren not the restorer of the Western Towers of Westminster Abbey.

The subjoined extracts from a paper read at the Architectural Exhibition, by Mr. Robert Kerr, and Mr. Ashpitel's comments on it, reported in the *Builder* of May 18, 1873, have also a bearing on the question of Wren's views as to Gothic architecture. He said, 'Dr. Wren determined to travel, for the sources of information and means of study at his command at home were very limited indeed. Critics of the modern Gothic school will remind me that he had the whole range of the fine monuments of Mediæval England, and that the modern spire or steeple, a feature of his own origination, and its continual use in exquisite variety of perfection, proves how much he owed to the study of those remains. But there need be no disguise about the fact that our doctor of classical learning treated Mediæval buildings with very much of straightforward disrespect, and would gladly have put "new flagging" to the best of them "after a good Roman manner" to conceal "the Gothic rudeness of their old design." Doubtless the contemplation, with so keen an eye for grace and fitness as his, of the picturesque effects of that style of architecture, did much to form his taste. This is now universally admitted. But whether he was aware of it is quite another thing.' On this, Mr. Ashpitel, who was in the chair, said, 'he ventured not exactly to differ from Mr. Kerr, as to what he had said on Gothic architecture, for there was no doubt that, *in his early career*, Sir Christopher Wren had proposed to classicise the nave of Old St. Paul's. But it must be remembered that it was not long after that he steadfastly

Mr. Kerr's and Mr. Ashpitel's remarks on Wren's architecture.

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refused to do so with the west front of Westminster Abbey. Wren was not in the position we now are, with a perfect knowledge of Mediæval detail, and with workmen ready to carry out our wishes in the most careful way. All old traditions had been worn out; new fashions had come in; new contours had been recognised as the only correct type for mouldings, and other detail; and Wren was much in the same position as Wyatt and the other architects who endeavoured to revive Mediæval art some fifty years ago. But when he looked at the general composition, the general masses of the west front of the Abbey, and, still more so, the noble tower of St. Michael, Cornhill, the curious and able spire of St. Dunstan's in the East, the front at Christ Church, Oxford, and many other works in the same style, which it would be impossible to detail at length, he believed that, had Sir Christopher lived at the present time, he would have been not only the greatest classic, but the greatest Gothic architect of the day.'

CHAPTER VII.

THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW CATHEDRAL—PLANS FOR
RESTORATION—ACCEPTANCE BY THE KING OF WREN'S
DESIGNS FOR REBUILDING—MODE OF RAISING THE
REQUISITE FUNDS.

CHAPTER VII.

THE history of St. Paul's Cathedral has now reached the period which may be considered as belonging to modern times. It has arrived at the time when preparations were made for the building of that Cathedral whose completion, or rather 'adornment'—to use the word adopted in all Acts of Parliament relative to St. Paul's—is now undertaken with a serious and active earnestness which bids fair to accomplish that long-neglected task. For nearly two centuries has our great national Cathedral been allowed to remain unadorned where its architect doubtless desired and intended adornment; to stand disfigured by ornamentation to which Wren objected, and must have objected with all his heart and soul; to be surrounded and partially hidden by heavy iron balustrades, against which Wren protested; and to present in the interior a cold, wretched, and comfortless appearance, where Wren intended warmth and brightness and cheerful solemnness.

But it is necessary to return to the day of destruction. Very soon after the fire, Dr. Wren, who had previously distinguished himself as a member of the Royal Society, 'was appointed deputy surveyor-general and principal architect for rebuilding the whole city; having been previously appointed architect and one of the Commissioners for the reparation of St. Paul's.'¹ He immediately set to work to fit up a portion of the dilapidated

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The beginning of the New Cathedral after the Great Fire of 1666.

¹ Elmes' *Life*, p. 219.

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Wren fits
up a part
of the
ruined Ca-
thedral for
temporary
use.

January
15, 1667.

Wall
round Ca-
thedral.

Cathedral for temporary use in divine service.¹ Having been consulted relative to the state of the Cathedral before the fire, "he was prepared with plans, elevations, and sections of every part, which he had but just finished to a large scale on vellum when that event occurred."² He was also well acquainted with its original defects of construction—which, however, he certainly exaggerated—and was consequently unwilling to attempt its restoration, preferring now to rebuild it entirely. The damage caused by the fire certainly made this more desirable; but, as will presently be seen, many parts of the walls which were still standing were of enormous strength. It was indispensable, in the mean time, to keep the building in some state of repair. Accordingly, on January 15th, 1667, the King issued an order, stating that 'It being thought necessary in the mean time (till it shall please God to bless us with a more favourable juncture for doing something more lasting and magnificent) that some part of that venerable pile be forthwith restored to its religious use—it was this day ordered that a choir and auditory for present use be forthwith set out.'³ On the same day it was ordered that, for the 'Suppressing and preventing of present and future annoyances and encroachments, the Churchyard be forthwith walled in, or otherwise enclosed at such distance from the Church on all sides, that the publique way without the said enclosure be left at least as broad in all places as the late Act of Parliament for rebuilding the City requires.'⁴

¹ Dugdale, edition of 1716, p. 153.

² Elmes, p. 220, and *Parentalia*, p. 294.

³ Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, Ellis' ed. p. 127.

⁴ Ellis' *Dugdale*, p. 127 (note), 'copied from the Book of Orders in the Muniment Room at St. Paul's.'

The whole management of this work was left to the care and direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Chamberlain, the Bishops of London, Rochester, Winchester and Ely, Sir Richard Chaworth, Vicar-General of the province of Canterbury, and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.¹

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Committee.

On the 5th of March following, a sub-committee was appointed for carrying the order into execution. Wren's name was not mentioned on either committee, but, as architect, he was of course consulted by Dean Sancroft as to the course to be adopted. Wren was convinced that a new Cathedral was necessary, although he saw the need of providing temporary accommodation. He consequently strenuously opposed all patching-up of the Cathedral, but the committee nevertheless appears to have attempted to do this, notwithstanding his protests. About a year after the appointment of the sub-committee, during which time the patching-up must have been going on, Dean Sancroft wrote to Wren at Oxford (April 25, 1668), saying, 'What you whispered in my ear, at your last coming hither, is come to pass. Our work at the west-end of St. Paul's is fallen about our ears.'² And he then goes on to say that one of the pillars had fallen, that another, and that the largest of all, was in a dangerous state, and that the breach made by the fall of the pillar revealed the defects in Inigo Jones' work. He therefore said that they could proceed no further with the work at the west-end; and impressed with the fullest conviction that they, the amateurs who had failed because they had opposed his opinions, could do nothing without him, he asked, 'What we are to do next is the present deliberation, in which you are so

Sub-
committee.
March 5,
1667.

Persist in
'patching-
up.'

April 25,
1668.

¹ Dr. Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, nominated Dean of St. Paul's in 1664.

² Elmes, p. 245.

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Dean
Sancroft
begs Wren
to come to
London.

July 2,
1668.

Sancroft's
repeated
entreaties
to Wren.

absolutely and indispensably necessary to us that we can do nothing, resolve nothing, without you.' ¹

Dean Sancroft consequently begged Wren to come to London with 'all possible speed,' and to bring with him the drawings and designs he had already made. It is doubtful whether Wren came, and the patching still went on,² notwithstanding a remonstrance from him; but on the 2nd of July the Dean wrote to Wren again,³ to tell him that 'yesterday my Lords of Canterbury, London, and Oxford met on purpose to hear your letter read once more, and to consider what is now to be done in order to the repairs of St. Paul's. They unanimously resolved that it is fit immediately to attempt something, and that without you they can do nothing. I am therefore commanded to give you an invitation hither in his Grace's name and the rest of the Commissioners with all speed; that we may prepare something to be proposed to his Majesty (the design of such a Quire, at least, as may be a congruous part of a greater and more magnificent work to follow).' Dr. Sancroft then goes on to make remarks well worthy of consideration at the present time when much debate has taken place as to the necessity of preparing a definite plan for the completion of St. Paul's, and much unworthy fear has been expressed that the nation would not provide the necessary funds. He says, 'And then for the procuring Contributions to defray this, we are so sanguine as not to doubt of it if we could but once resolve what we would do and what that would cost. So that the only part of your letter we demurr to, is the method you propound of declaring, first, what Money we would bestow; and then designing something just of that Expence; for quite otherwise, the

¹ Elmes, p. 245.

² Ibid. p. 246.

³ *Parentalia*, p. 279.

way their Lordships resolve upon is to frame a design handsome and noble, and suitable to all the ends of it, and to the reputation of the City, and the Nation, and to take it for granted that Money will be had to accomplish it.¹ It seems probable that Wren came to London, in answer to this urgent solicitation, and that, although the full determination to have an entirely new Cathedral was not yet arrived at in Wren's mind, he was able, in conjunction with his faithful supporter, Dean Sancroft, to convince the committee that further patching up was inexpedient. This seems clear from the fact that, on the 25th of the same month, the King issued a warrant for taking down the walls and clearing the ground to the foundation of the east end, the old choir, and the tower, so as to make room for a new choir, as part of a possible new Cathedral.² That Wren at that time thought it necessary to postpone the idea of building a new Cathedral, seems evident from his expressions in a report to the Commissioners (undated, but probably presented at this time). He says that by making a new choir and auditory he can with ease provide 'a present Cathedral;' and he adds, 'there will be time to consider of a more durable and noble fabric, to be made in the place of the lower and eastern parts of the church, when the minds of men, now contracted to many objects of necessary charge, shall, by God's blessing, be more widened, after a happy restoration, both of the buildings and wealth of the city and nation. In the meanwhile, to derive, if not a stream, yet some little drills of charity this way, or, at least, to preserve that already obtained from being diverted, it may not prove ill-advised to seem to begin something of the new fabric. But I confess this cannot well be

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Sancroft's confidence in the supply of the necessary funds.

July 25,
1668.

Wren proposes restoration and not entire rebuilding.

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 279.

² Elmes, p. 253.

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VII.

Necessity
for a new
Cathedral
at length
admitted.

A.D. 1670.

put in execution, without taking down all that part of the ruin.’¹

These works were carried on for nearly two years, when at last the necessity for an entirely new Church became evident. ‘Towards the latter end of which two years they fell to casing some of those great and massy Pillars which stood betwixt the Middle Isle and the Side Isles; beginning with those below the little North Door towards the West; but before the third Pillar was perfectly cased, they were found to be altogether incapable of any substantial repair. It was therefore fully concluded, that, in order to a new Fabrick, the Foundations of the old Cathedral, thus made ruinous, should be totally cleared; and Preparations of Materials and all Things needful made ready, conducing to a new Fabrick. Which work continued until the last of April, 1674, at a total cost of 10,909*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*’²

There is no little difficulty in reducing to strict chronological order³ the different plans made by Sir Christopher Wren for the rebuilding of St. Paul’s. It must be recollected that the *Parentalia*, the chief—if not only—authority on the question, was published by Wren’s grandson twenty-seven years after his grandfather’s death, and it cannot be denied that it is far from systematic in arrangement.⁴

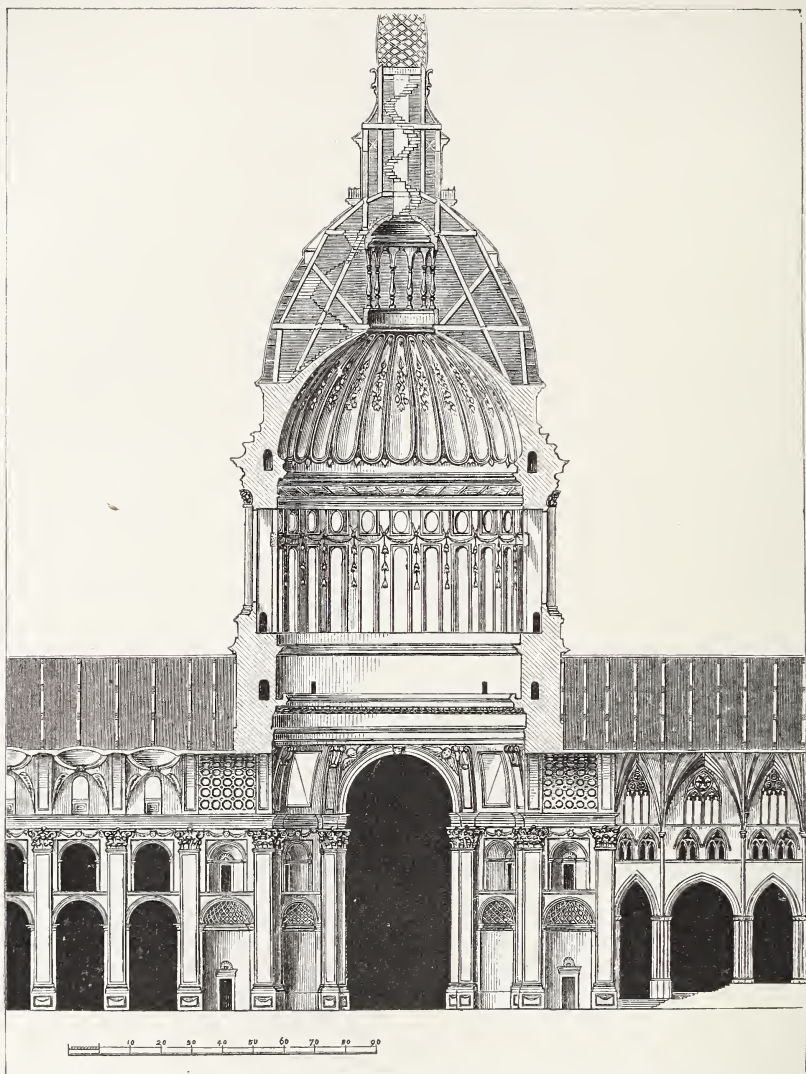
Thus much, however, seems clear. Just before the fire, Wren, being ordered ‘to provide a convenient quire, with vestibule and porticoes, and a Dome con-

¹ Elmes, pp. 252, 253, quoting ‘from the Antiquarian Repertory, communicated by the late Thomas Astle, Esq.’

² *Parentalia*, p. 278, and Ellis’ *Dugdale*, p. 127.

³ See note at end of Chapter, giving an attempted chronological arrangement of Wren’s designs.

⁴ The *Parentalia* was published in 1750. Sir Christopher Wren died in 1723.



DESIGN FOR ST. PAUL'S MADE BY SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN IMMEDIATELY
BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE.

Description of the above in Elmes' Catalogue of Sir Christopher Wren's Drawings at All Souls College, Oxford (Vol. 2, No. 7) :

'Section of the same (Orthography of the Dome and part of the Old Church, according to the same design, numbered 2 in the same volume), most elaborately drawn and finished in Indian ink. The choir, which is up 18 steps, remains Gothic, the other parts Corinthian—the upper windows resembling those of the present choir. Signed in the timbers of the roof, "C. Wren, 1666."'

CHAP. allowed Wren to make, and which he did make to an
 VII. incredible extent, was carried out as the Cathedral now
 exists.

A more particular account of the designs made by Sir Christopher Wren after the Great Fire will be given in the next chapter. I have introduced a brief and summary account of them in this place, as a necessary introduction to the following financial statement.

Com-
mission
appointed
by Charles
the Second,
November
12, 1673.

The King issued a warrant, appointing a Commission to superintend the building of the Cathedral according to the second design, on November 12, 1673, and in virtue of it—although the design was subsequently rejected—preparations were made for the new building, by clearing the ground for a new foundation, on May 1, 1674.¹ The warrant is addressed to the Lord Mayor of the city of London for the time being (who in this matter takes precedence even of the Archbishop of Canterbury) and to 108 other persons, comprising various noblemen, the two archbishops, the bench of bishops, Sir Matthew Hale, Dugdale the historian of St. Paul's, and 'Dr. Christopher Wren, Doctor of Laws, and Surveyor-General of our works,'² and other distinguished persons.

Nov. 12,
1673.
Charles
the
Second's
Commis-
sion.

The Commission begins by stating that King James the First and King Charles the First had granted several Commissions for 'upholding and repairing' St. Paul's, and that in 1663 he (Charles the Second) had issued a Commission to the same effect, but that 'since the issuing of which Commission, the late dreadful fire hath destroyed and consumed the said Cathedral to such a degree that no part of the ancient walls or structures can with any safety be relied upon or left standing,

¹ Ellis' *Dugdale*, p. 140.

² *Parentalia*, p. 280, and Ellis' *Dugdale*, pp. 155, 159.

insomuch that it is now become absolutely necessary totally to demolish and raze to the ground all the relicks of the former building, and in the same place but upon new foundations to erect a new church. We have caused *several designs* to that purpose to be prepared by Dr. Christopher Wren, Surveyor-General of all our works and buildings, which we have seen, and *one of which* we do more especially approve, and have commanded *a model thereof*¹ to be made after so large and exact a manner, that it may remain as a perpetual and unchangeable rule and direction for the conduct of the whole work.' The Commission then goes on to say, that whereas the former Commission was only for upholding and repairing the Cathedral, and did not sufficiently authorise the Commissioners to begin a new fabric, he 'nominated and appointed' certain persons to be 'our Commissioners for the rebuilding, new erecting, finishing, and *adorning* the said Cathedral Church, according to the design and model above mentioned.'²

The undertaking was thus taken up as one of an entirely national character. Wren's plan was the basis of everything connected with the building of the new Cathedral; but six, 'or more of you,' were appointed as a committee for carrying out the details of the building, and for keeping the accounts. The terms of the Commission then went on to provide the means by which the necessary funds should be raised. The King confirmed his previous grant of 1,000*l.* a year, which had been given only for 'the reparation of the said Church,' and then gave the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's 'full power and authority to ask, demand,

Mode of
raising
funds.

¹ Viz. the Kensington model, as already stated.

² Ellis' *Dugdale*, pp. 132-136.

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VII.

receive, and take the free and Voluntary Contributions of all such our Nobility, Bishops, Judges, and others of Quality and Ability, and of all such our subjects as shall willingly contribute to the said work.’¹ ‘The Judges of the Prerogative Court and all others having and exercising Ecclesiastical Dominion within this our kingdom’ were ordered to assign ‘some convenient proportion of such money as shall from time to time fall into their power for or by reason of Commutations of Penance’ to the same purpose. ‘Letters patent, to be drawn in a more special manner than ordinary Briefs are wont to be, for publick Collections of the Charity of our loving and well-disposed subjects’² were ordered to be issued. All classes contributed; various private persons gave handsome sums and left liberal legacies. The clergy were not behind the rest; the Dean and Chapter were very generous, and collections were made over the whole country in the various parishes, and sums from this latter source as well as others flowed in annually for ten years. Among the private persons who contributed, it should be recorded that Christopher Wren gave 60*l*. But although Charles the Second had promised ‘1,000*l*. by the year to be paid Quarterly out of our Privy Purse, and to be continued during the Reparation of the said Church,’ there is no record of one penny of it having ever been paid; and all we find is that he gave 527*l*. 1*s*. 3*d*. ‘out of Fines and Forfeitures, commonly called Green Wax money,’ and 1,627*l*. 9*s*. 8*d*. ‘out of the arrears of Impropriations due to him and not pardoned.’

King
Charles’
contribu-
tions and
promises.

Orders in
Council for
payments
by
Bishops.

In 1678 there were issued the following remarkable orders in Council for raising funds for the rebuilding. The first, dated February 25th, stated that ‘Whereas

¹ Ellis’ *Dugdale*, p 165.

² *Ibid*. p. 156.

hitherto it hath been a Custome upon the Consecration of all Bishops to make great entertainments and feasts, wherein much money was unnecessarily spent,' it was ordered 'that for the future no more such feasts or entertainments shall be made, but that in lieu thereof each Lord Bishop, before his Consecration, shall hereafter pay the sum of Fifty Pounds, to be employed towards the rebuilding of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul. And it was further ordered that his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury does not proceed to consecrate any Bishop before he hath payd the said summe.' The second, dated October 23rd, ordered that a similar sum should be paid on like occasions in lieu of the Gloves which were given by the Bishops to all that came to the Consecration dinners.¹

In the same year, Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who witnessed the laying of the first stone of his Cathedral, and lived as Bishop of London to see its completion, printed an address, exhorting all persons throughout the kingdom to extend their liberality towards the building, and endeavoured to remove certain objections which had been raised against it. The objections were, first, that 'the sumptuousness and magnificence of churches is not at all suitable to the times of the Gospel, nor according to the simplicity of the primitive Christian worship.' The second was 'that the Church of St. Paul's, belonging only to the city and diocess of London, ought to be rebuilt solely at their charge, without having recourse to so extraordinary a way of supply and contribution from others who are no way concerned in it.' To the first objection he answered that, although devotion must be inward and spiritual, yet that in its

Bishop
Compton's
appeal to
the nation.

His
answers to
objections.

¹ Ellis' *Dugdale*, pp. 141, 142.

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public manifestation ‘the circumstance of it should be not only decent but very solemn and magnificent;’ and, in the fashion of the time, he made use of somewhat elaborate and what may now appear far-fetched arguments, drawn from both the Old and New Testament, in support of his views. But they were suited to the times. In answer to the second he brought forward sound arguments and cogent facts. He said that the inhabitants of London were great sufferers by the fire, that they were put to great expense in rebuilding their churches, hospitals, and other public buildings, and that ‘the city of London had ever been found very charitable and bountiful on all occasions, towards the rebuilding of churches in town and country, and the repairing of the fortunes of particular persons, that have been ruined by the like calamity of fire; that the rebuilding of this church is of very public concernment, and the whole nation, in some sort, interested in it, and that the glory of the work will redound to the whole nation, to which it will not only be a singular ornament, but likewise a standing monument of the public affection and zeal of this Protestant kingdom to piety and good works.’¹

The rebuilding a National concern.

Book of subscriptions.

Another Book of Subscriptions, similar to that of 1664, and, like it, still preserved in the library of the Cathedral, was opened; but the only names written in it are those of Charles the Second and of his brother James, Duke of York.

Receipts from 1663 to 1685.

The total sum collected from August 5th, 1663, to March 25th, 1685, amounted to 126,604*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*, nearly one-half of which, 62,945*l.*, was derived from the fourth portion of the tax on coals, which had been granted for the public buildings of the city by 18 & 19 Car. II.

¹ Elmes' *Life of Wren*, p. 373.

c. 8, sect. 34, and especially for St. Paul's, by the Act 22 Car. II. c. 11, sect. 36. CHAP.
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The expenditure, from the commencement of the restoration of the building in 1663, up to April 1684, amounted to 124,261*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* Of this, a portion was spent before the Great Fire, viz. 3,586*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*, being 'the total of all the disbursements for Repair of this Cathedral, after the Restoration of our present Sovereign King Charles II., and before the dreadful Fire of London, by which the old Fabrick was ruined : viz. from the 1st of August, 1663, to the last of August, 1666, the Fire happening the second day of September following.' From the Great Fire to 1674 there was spent 10,909*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*, being 'the total of the Disbursements after the Fire of London ; viz. from the 2nd of September, 1666, to the last of April, 1674, for the Repair of the Ruins, and that not succeeding, in making Preparations in order to a new Fabrick.'

Expenditure during the same period.

Expenditure to March 1684.

109,765*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* was spent 'upon the new Fabrick, which was begun in May 1674, until the last day of March 1684.'

The total expenditure during these three periods amounted, as I have before said, to 124,261*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*¹

CHRONOLOGICAL VIEW OF WREN'S DESIGNS.

FIRST DESIGN.—Before the Great Fire, A.D. 1666, 'Wren being ordered to provide a convenient quire with vestibule and porticoes and a dome conspicuous above the houses, proposed to do this by cutting off the inner corners of the cross, making a dome in the

Attempted chronological arrangement of Wren's designs. See p. 96.

¹ Ellis' *Dugdale*, pp. 170, 171 ; and *Parentalia*, p. 292.

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VII.First
Design.

middle, after a good Roman manner, with a new roof, either timbered or plastered, so as to reconcile the Gothic to a better manner, with a cupola, and instead of a lantern, a lofty spire' (see pp. 81 and 97, drawings Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7 of the *All Souls' Collection*, dated 1666, and engraving).

* * This design seems never to have been taken into consideration after the Great Fire.

Quire and
auditory.

A.D. 1667, January 15. Wren was ordered to prepare the Cathedral for temporary use by the erection of a quire (p. 92) and auditory. Apparently there is no drawing of this.

A.D. 1668, April 25. Dean Sancroft begged Wren to come to London with all possible speed (p. 94), and to bring with him the drawings and designs he had already made.

'Hand-
some and
noble,' and
'for dis-
course
sake.'

A.D. 1668, July 2. Dean Sancroft begs Wren to prepare a plan handsome and noble (pp. 95 and 97). *Before* making this plan he made 'several sketches merely for discourse sake' (p. 109). These are probably represented in the numerous contemporary engravings, which, most singularly, purport to be representations of St. Paul's as it actually existed. The *Gardner Collection* comprises a large number of these.

There are also many (apparently) unengraved designs both in the *All Souls' Collection* and in the Vestry at St. Paul's, which show the progress of Wren's ideas. It is difficult to assign to each of these its proper place. Some probably are the 'discourse sake' designs, and others alterations of the design of 1675.

SECOND DESIGN.—Patching went on for two years (p. 96), and nearly three years more elapsed before Wren made another design; when, observing that the generality were for grandeur, he endeavoured to gratify

'the taste of the Conoisseurs and Criticks with something coloss and beautiful, conformable to the best stile of the Greek and Roman architecture' (p. 109).

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VII.

Wren submitted various designs to the King, and on A.D. 1673, Nov. 12, the King issued a warrant for the building of the Cathedral according to one of them — 'one of which he approved, and caused a model to be made of it' (pp. 97, 98, and 109).

Second
design,
Kensing-
ton model.

This is the model now preserved at the Kensington Museum, and was Wren's favourite design (p. 110).

A.D. 1674, May 1 (p. 98). The clearing of the ground for the foundations of a Cathedral according to this design began; but the Chapter and others of the clergy thought it not enough of a Cathedral fashion, to instance particularly that the quire was designed circular, and that there were no aisles or naves (p. 111).

THIRD DESIGN.—Wren now turned his thoughts (p. 113, and *Parentalia*, p. 282) to a Cathedral form, but so rectified as to reconcile, as near as possible, the Gothic to a better manner of architecture, with a cupola, and above that, instead of a lantern, a lofty spire, and large porticoes.

Third
design,
Cathedral
form.

A.D. 1675, May 14.—The King approved of one of Wren's designs as being 'very artificial (artistic), proper, and useful' (p. 114).

This seems unquestionably to be the design according to which Wren was authorised to build the Cathedral. But the King gave him leave to make variations in the design.¹ By this time Wren seems to have been annoyed at the constant interference with the designs he exhibited, and he declared 'he would make

¹ Elmes, p. 347.

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VII.

no models, or publicly expose his drawings.’¹ Armed with the King’s authority, therefore, he availed himself of the leave given him to an incredible extent, and transformed his approved designs into a totally different building. See Nos. 9 to 14 of the *All Souls’ Drawings*, of which series the engraving represents No. 11. No. 29 of the same series, and the ‘former design,’ both of which are hereafter described, are, in all probability, modifications of the design (No. 11) approved by the King.

* * A useful list of Wren’s designs by Elmes is given in his *Life of Wren*, and accompanies the *All Souls’ Collection* of Wren’s drawings. It is to be wished that there were a complete *Catalogue raisonné* of all the engraved and unengraved designs for St. Paul’s made by Sir Christopher Wren.

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 283.

CHAPTER VIII.

WREN'S FIRST DESIGN (AFTER THE GREAT FIRE)
REJECTED—HIS SECOND AND FAVOURITE DESIGN—
GENERALLY APPROVED, BUT OBJECTED TO BY THE
CLERGY—ALTERED DESIGN ACCEPTED AND WARRANT
ISSUED FOR ITS EXECUTION ON MAY 14, 1675.



VIEW OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PAUL'S, ACCORDING TO THE FIRST DESIGN, AFTER THE GREAT FIRE, OF THE ARCHITECT,
SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, KNT. ('KENSINGTON MODEL').

(From a print in the 'Gardner Collection,' Engraved by Schynvoet.)

CHAPTER VIII.

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VIII.

I HAVE mentioned in the last chapter that the suggestion for preparing 'a new plan, handsome and noble,' for St. Paul's came from Dean Sancroft. It was eagerly welcomed by Wren, and led to the making of a model, after he had 'drawn several sketches merely for discourse sake to find out what might satisfy the world.'¹ At last he made another design, 'and observing that the generality were for grandeur, he endeavoured to gratify the taste of the Connoisseurs and Criticks with something coloss and beautiful, conformable to the best stile of the Greek and Roman architecture.' This met with general approval, and at the request of various 'Persons of Distinction' a model of it was made, which, although in a lamentably dilapidated state, is still preserved, and may now be seen in the Loan collection of the Kensington Museum.

Wren's
second
design
approved
of, but not
eventually
adopted.

The design was in the form of a Greek Cross, and the style of architecture was Corinthian. There is hardly the slightest indication of any intention of using colour in the decoration, or rather 'adornment' of the building. In the ground plan of this design, 'which may be termed the Kensington model,' there are no indications of a communion table or reredos, but in a more complete and somewhat modified drawing² of the same design in the All Souls' collection at Oxford, they are clearly shown.

But 'the Chapter and some others of the Clergy thought the model not enough of a Cathedral fashion,

Clergy
want more
of a Cathed-
ral design

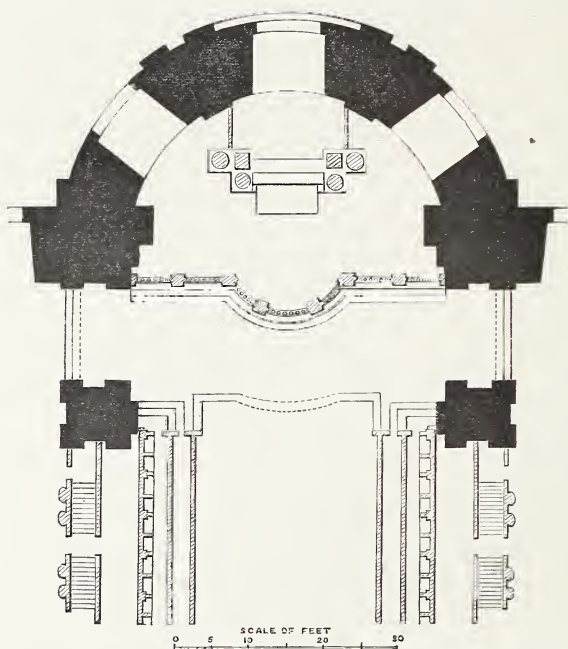
¹ *Parentalia*, p. 282.

² No. 21. (See Illustration termed "Tentative design.")

CHAP.
VIII.

to instance particularly, in that the Quire was designed circular,' and that there were no aisles or naves.¹

It is clear, however, that this did not satisfy the clergy, for the whole design was given up, and, so far as the exterior is concerned, probably with advantage. Independently of any architectural defects, there is a

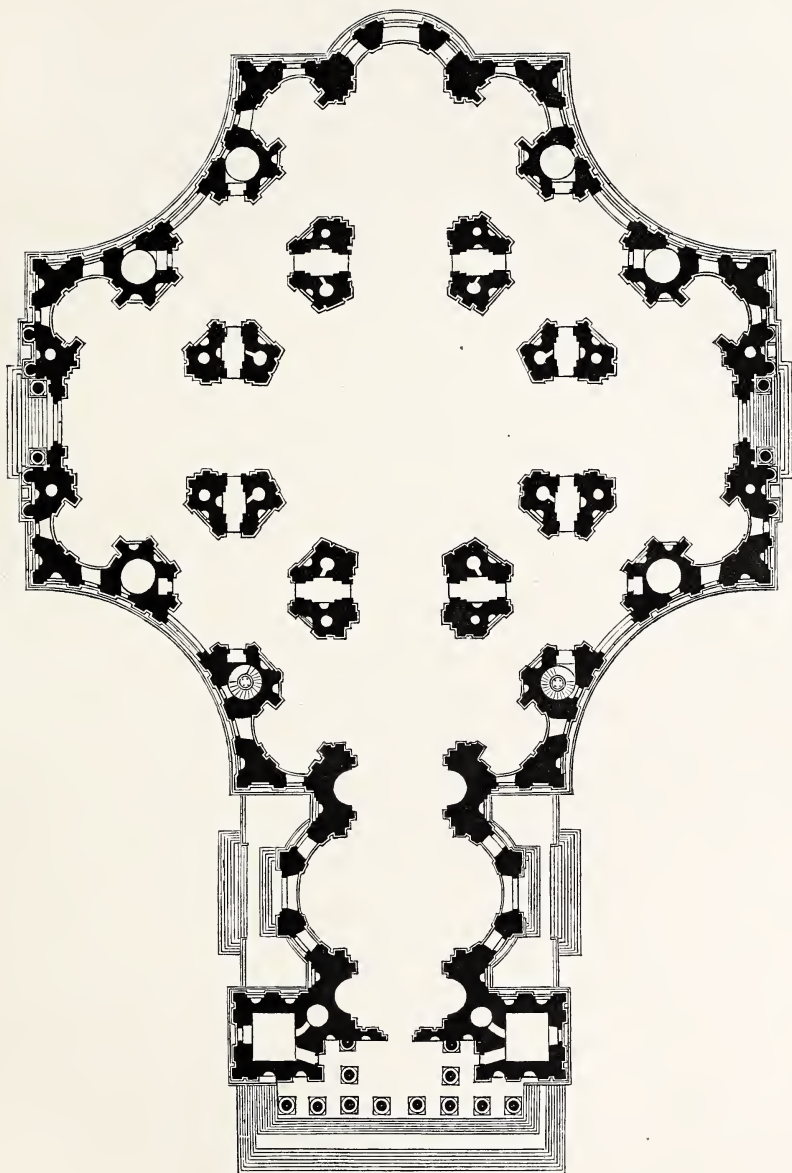


EAST END OF ST. PAUL'S, AS ALTERED BY WREN FROM THE
'KENSINGTON MODEL' DESIGN.

From an engraving in the *Gardner Collection*, inscribed 'Ichnographia Altaris (designati), et Partes Chori, from a print by Hulsbergh.' This engraving was evidently taken from a drawing in the All Souls' Collection.

want of grandeur in the dome as compared with that of the present Cathedral, and a poverty in the diminutive dome over the narrow nave immediately behind the portico, which contrasts most unfavourably with the magnificent campaniles which now adorn the West end of the Cathedral.

¹ Elmes, p. 319.



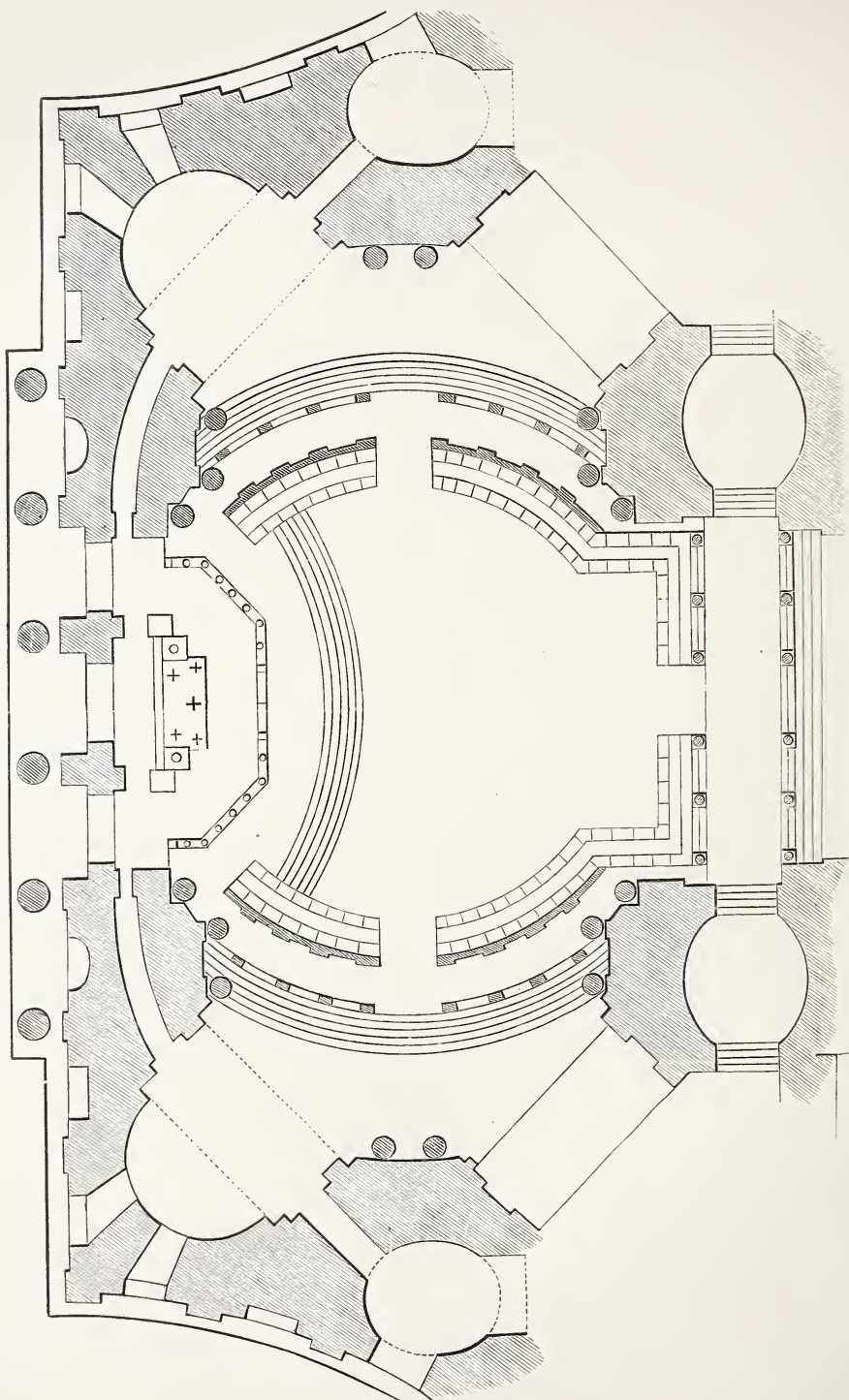
GROUND PLAN OF ST. PAUL'S, ACCORDING TO THE FIRST DESIGN (AFTER THE GREAT FIRE) OF SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.

(From a Print in the 'Gardner Collection,' Engraved by B. Cole.)

Inscription on original print.

A Plan of Sir Christopher Wren's first Design of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London—a large Model of which is deposited at the present Church, over the North Chappell.

Ichnographia Basilicae D.
Pauli Lond. ex Prima intentione
Architecti Dⁿⁱ Christophori Wren
Equitis Aurati—
Cujus modelus asservatur
Supra Capellam Septentrionalem
Novae istius Fabricae.



GROUND PLAN OF EAST END OF ST. PAUL'S, SHOWING COMMUNION TABLE AND BEREDÓS,
ACCORDING TO A TENTATIVE DESIGN MADE BY SIR C. WREN.

It is stated by Wren's grandson that his grandfather 'always seemed to set a higher value on this design than any he had made before or since, as what was laboured with more study and success, and, had he not been overruled by those whom it was his duty to

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Wren's
favourite
design.



MODEL OF BALDACHINO IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

obey, what he would have put into execution with more cheerfulness and satisfaction to himself than the latter.'¹ Wren subsequently made another drawing, of which the annexed cut exhibits the East end portion. This design is very nearly that of the present Cathedral, but it has a plan of a Baldachino, resem-

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 283.

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VIII.

Mr. Fergusson's criticisms.

Mr. Fergusson's unfavourable criticisms on the exterior of Wren's second design.

Various opinions of the interior of Wren's second design.

bling, though not identical with, an imperfect model still preserved in the Cathedral.¹

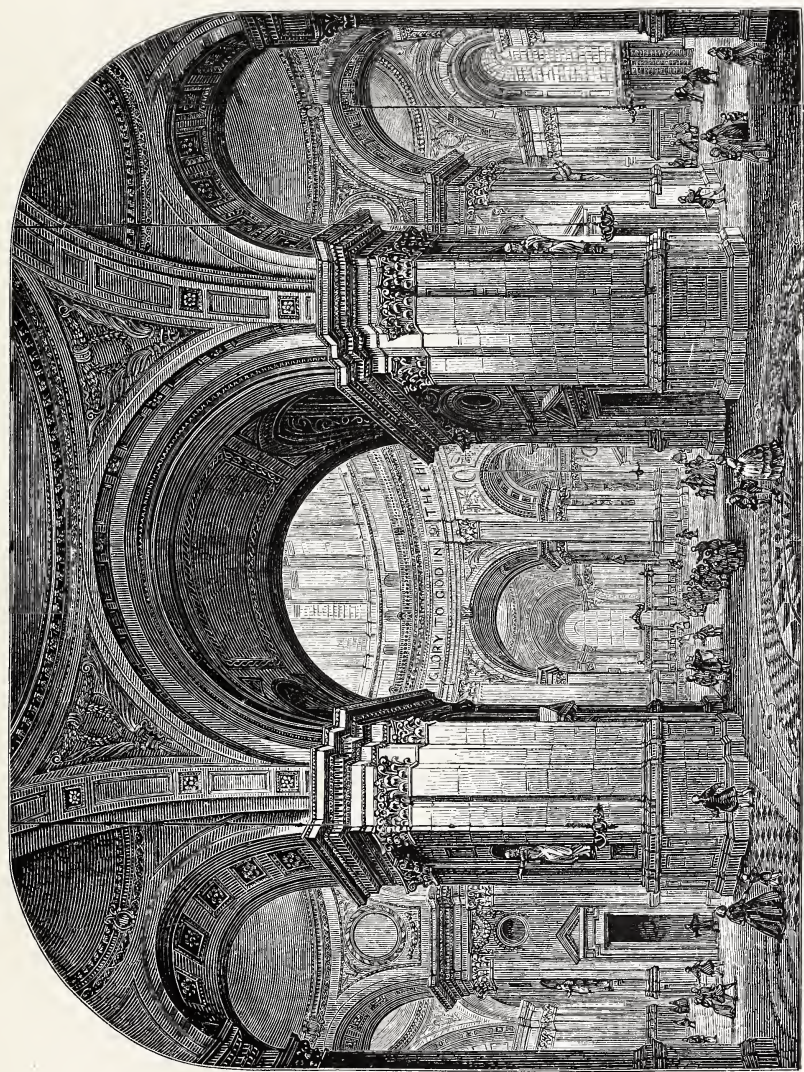
Mr. Fergusson,² while admitting the excellence of one part of this design, points out the following defects in its exterior. He says that the proposed western portico would have been a very noble feature, but that its effect would have been spoilt by the attic which was to crown the order everywhere; that the nearly detached vestibule would, except exactly in front, have been an obvious sham, designed to hide the narrow nave and the entrances behind it; that the dome would have been as ineffective as is that of St. Peter's for any near position, in consequence of its rising through the roof and thus hiding the structure on which it depended for its solidity. Mr. Fergusson objects also to the hollow curve which connected the transepts with the nave and choir, as disturbing the repose or quiet grandeur of the building. In conclusion, Mr. Fergusson sums up his objections to the exterior by condemning the series of gigantic and useless Corinthian pilasters with which 'the whole building would have been plastered;' 'the surmounting of the Order with a clumsy attic, and the arbitrary and purposeless variety in the size, position, and number of the windows and openings.'

As regards the interior, Mr. Fergusson expresses his opinion that it would 'probably have been as superior to that of the present church as the exterior would have been inferior.' Dean Milman³ is of a somewhat different opinion. But he says that, 'with all his admiration of the first design,' he does not regret the expansion of the Greek into the Latin Cross.

¹ This model was evidently designed for the present Cathedral, although never carried into execution. Wren describes it as 'particularly one for the high Altar, to consist of rich marble columns writhed, &c., in some manner like that at St. Peter's at Rome.'

² *Modern Architecture*, p. 268.

³ *Annals of St. Paul's*, p. 403.



INTERIOR OF SIR C. WREN'S FIRST DESIGN (AFTER THE GREAT FIRE) FOR ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.
VIEW FROM THE NAVE.

(Drawn by J. E. Goodchild, from the Model now in the Kensington Museum.)



THE LAST DESIGN MADE FOR ST. PAUL'S, BY SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.

(COPY OF ROYAL WARRANT.)

Charles R

‘Whereas &c. &c. * * * because we found it very artificial, proper and useful.’ (See p. 113.)

*To Our Commissioners for
Rebuilding the Cathedral Church
of S.^t Paul London*

*By his Ma.^{ties} Command
Henry Lovensmy*

With regard to the Latin Cross, Dean Milman seems to think that Mr. Fergusson agrees with him, overlooking apparently Mr. Fergusson's statement that 'for the purposes of a Protestant Church, it cannot be doubted that this arrangement is superior to that of the present Church.' Mr. Fergusson does not however by any means consider the design, as shown in the model still existing, as free from objection, for he thinks the wide arches too low and the narrow ones too high. The plan of the building, as shown in the accompanying illustrations, was that of a central dome, of the same diameter as that of the present Cathedral, viz. a little more than 100 ft., standing, like it, on eight arches, opening into eight compartments, each covered by a dome 40 ft. in diameter—not visible from the exterior—placed at varying distances from the central dome. As already stated, this design was rejected, and, on the whole, probably with advantage, although the interior, as shown in the engraving of Mr. Goodchild's drawing, would unquestionably have been very beautiful.

Wren now turned his thoughts to a Cathedral form (as they called it),¹ 'but so rectified as to reconcile, as near as possible, the Gothick to a better manner of Architecture; with a Cupola, and above that, instead of a lantern, a lofty spire, and large Porticoes.' With this object he made various designs, one of which was approved by Charles the Second, and on the 14th of May, 1675, the King issued a Royal Warrant for beginning the work. This warrant stated that the funds arising from the duty on coals amounted to a considerable sum, and that among the designs presented he had 'particularly pitched on one, as well because we found it very artificial, proper, and useful, as because

Wren's
last
design.

Approved
by Charles
the Second,
and order
issued for
its execu-
tion, May
14, 1675.

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 282.

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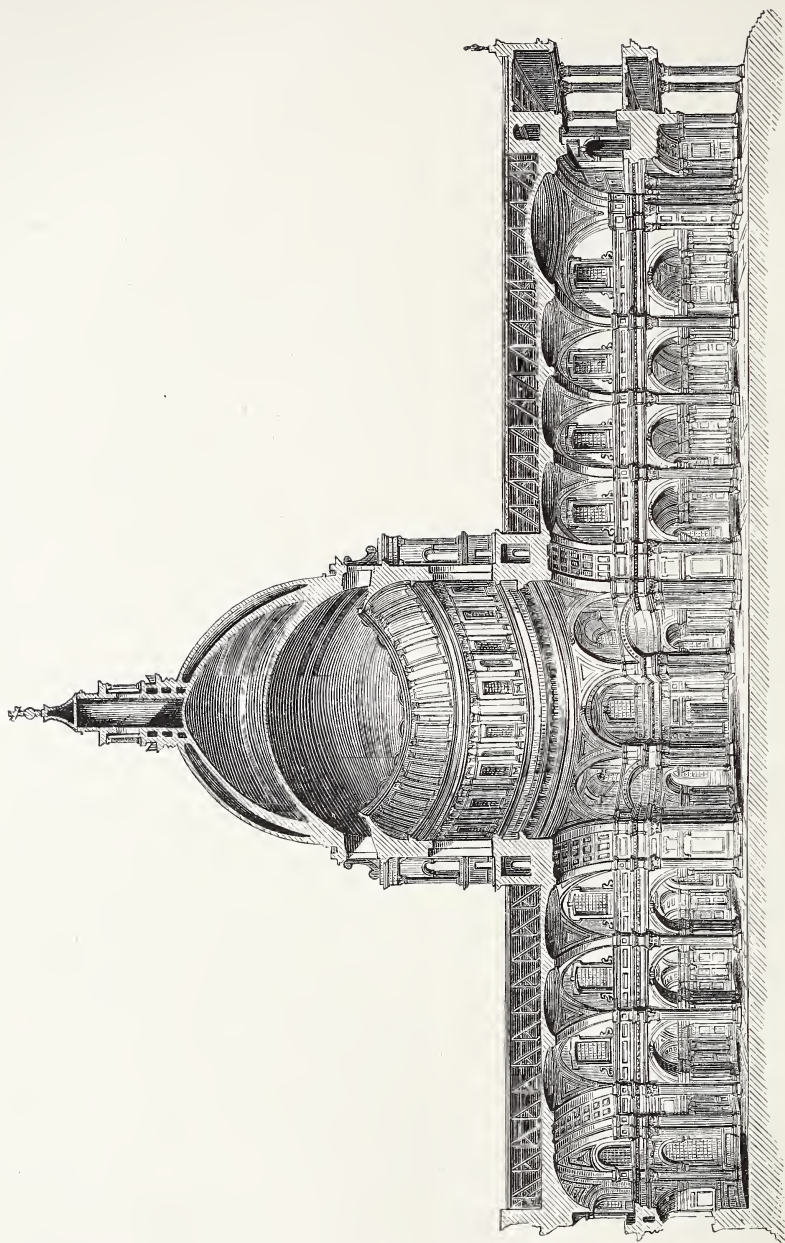
it was so ordered that it might be built and finished by parts.' Wren was therefore required to begin 'with the East end or Quire.'¹

But the King gave him 'liberty in the prosecution of his work, to make some variations, rather Ornamental than Essential, as from time to time he should see proper, and to leave the whole to his management.'² Wren availed himself of this permission to an incredible extent, and constructed a building almost as different from the present Cathedral as St. Paul's Cathedral is from that of Salisbury. The accompanying engraving of Wren's 'approved' drawing at All Souls' will make this evident at a glance, and will excite astonishment at the possibility of Wren making so poor and tawdry a design, and evidently so unsatisfactory to himself; at the want of taste which could cause the acceptance of such a design, and the rejection of one which was greatly its superior; and at Wren's fortunate audacity in venturing to make alterations, not merely 'Ornamental,' according to the liberty which was given him, but 'Essential' from which he was precluded.

There is a drawing in the All Souls' Collection,³ which probably shows one of the steps of the progress of alteration from the design approved by King Charles. The exterior elevation of the whole of the south side agrees tolerably exactly with the present building, but the dome is much larger in proportion, and very different in form. It is more like St. Peter's.

The side chapels—that on the north used for morning prayer, and that on the south which became the Consistory Court—were intended for possible use as oratories, and formed no part of Wren's original design. As related by Spence in his *Anecdotes*,⁴ 'The side

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 281.² *Ibid.* p. 283.³ Marked No. 29 in the 2nd volume. ⁴ Edited by Singer, 1820, p. 256



‘FORMER DESIGN’ FOR ST. PAUL’S, BY SIR C. WREN.

Original Title: ‘A Section of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, showing the Dome according to a former Design by Sir Christopher Wren.’

(From a print in the ‘Gardner Collection.’)

oratories were added by the influence of the Duke of York and his party, who wished to have them ready for his intended revival of the Papist service.’¹ Spence adds that ‘it narrowed the building, and broke in very much upon the beauty of the design. Sir Christopher insisted so strongly on the prejudice they would create, that he actually shed tears in speaking of it; but it was all in vain. The Duke absolutely insisted on their being inserted, and he was obliged to comply.’

The engravings of a print entitled ‘a former design,’ and of a section of the Dome, taken from another print of the same design, slightly altered, are particularly interesting and deserve especial attention. There are several impressions of the same plate in various stages, with progressive alterations, in the collection of Wren’s designs in the Vestry of St. Paul’s, but unfortunately none of them bear a date, and consequently it is impossible to assign an exact date to this design. It is probably one of those for the important alterations which Wren ventured to make after the King’s approval, and should take its place before the design in the All Souls’ Collection (called No. 29), already alluded to. The Whispering Gallery was never before introduced into any of Wren’s designs, but is here present, and the treatment of the cornice underneath the quarter galleries is exactly that of the present Cathedral. In addition to this, the side chapels are here introduced.

But the design has a far higher interest, and is a remarkable instance of Wren’s inventive genius. In the mode he proposed for supporting the Dome he adopted an eminently scientific principle, of the use or knowledge of which in Europe no known instance exists, and which seems peculiar to India. It is the

¹ Elmes, p. 319.

CHAP.
VIII.

counteraction of the outward thrust by the suspension—
if it may be so described—of an inward falling weight.

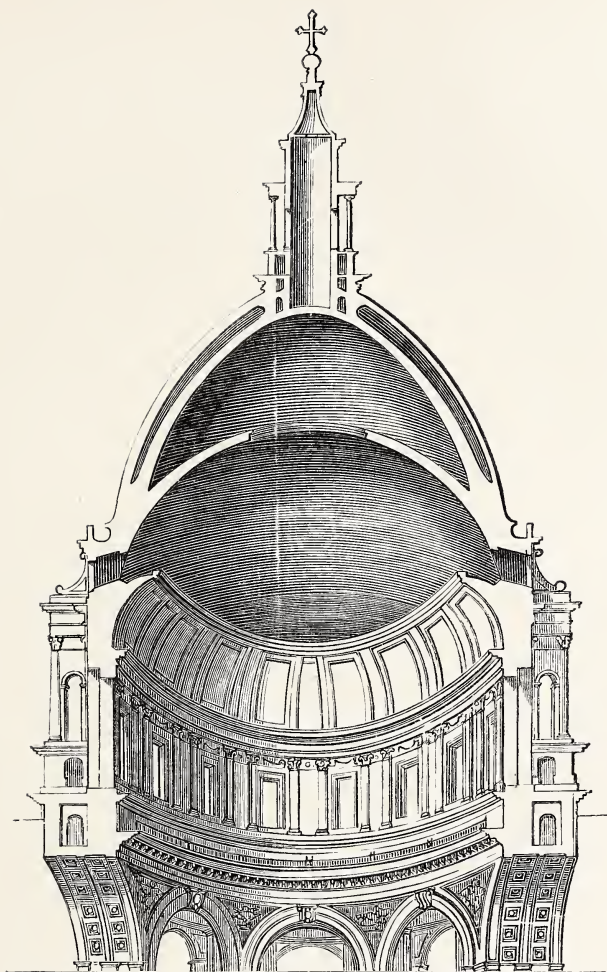
In his account of the tomb of Mahmoud at Beejapore, Mr. Fergusson¹ thus describes the construction :—
‘ The most ingenious and novel part of the construction of this Dome is the mode in which its lateral or outward thrust is counteracted. This was accomplished by forming the pendentives so that they not only cut off the angles, but that their arches intersect one another, and form a very considerable mass of masonry perfectly stable in itself, and by its weight acting inwards, counteracting any thrust that can possibly be brought to bear upon it by the pressure of the Dome. If the whole edifice thus balanced has any tendency to move, it is to fall inwards, which from its circular form is impossible ; while, the action of the weight of the pendentives being in the opposite direction to that of the Dome, it acts like a tie, and keeps the whole in equilibrium, without interfering at all with the outline of the Dome. In the Pantheon, and most European Domes, a great mass of masonry is thrown on the haunches, which entirely hides the external form, and is a singularly clumsy expedient in every respect, compared with the elegant mode of hanging the weight inside.’

The accompanying illustrations will make this description perfectly clear ; that on a larger scale, is given in order to prevent any misconception arising from an apparent want of continuity, in the section, which is produced by the position of the windows.

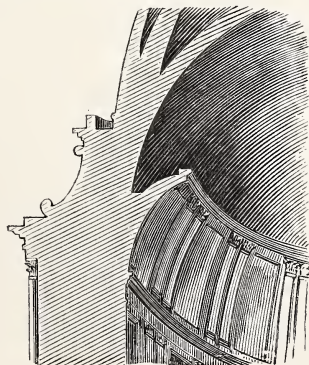
It is interesting to add, that in St. Stephen’s, Walbrook, Wren adopted another Indian principle in the plan of the building.²

¹ *History of Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 681.

² See Fergusson’s *Modern Architecture* p. 275.



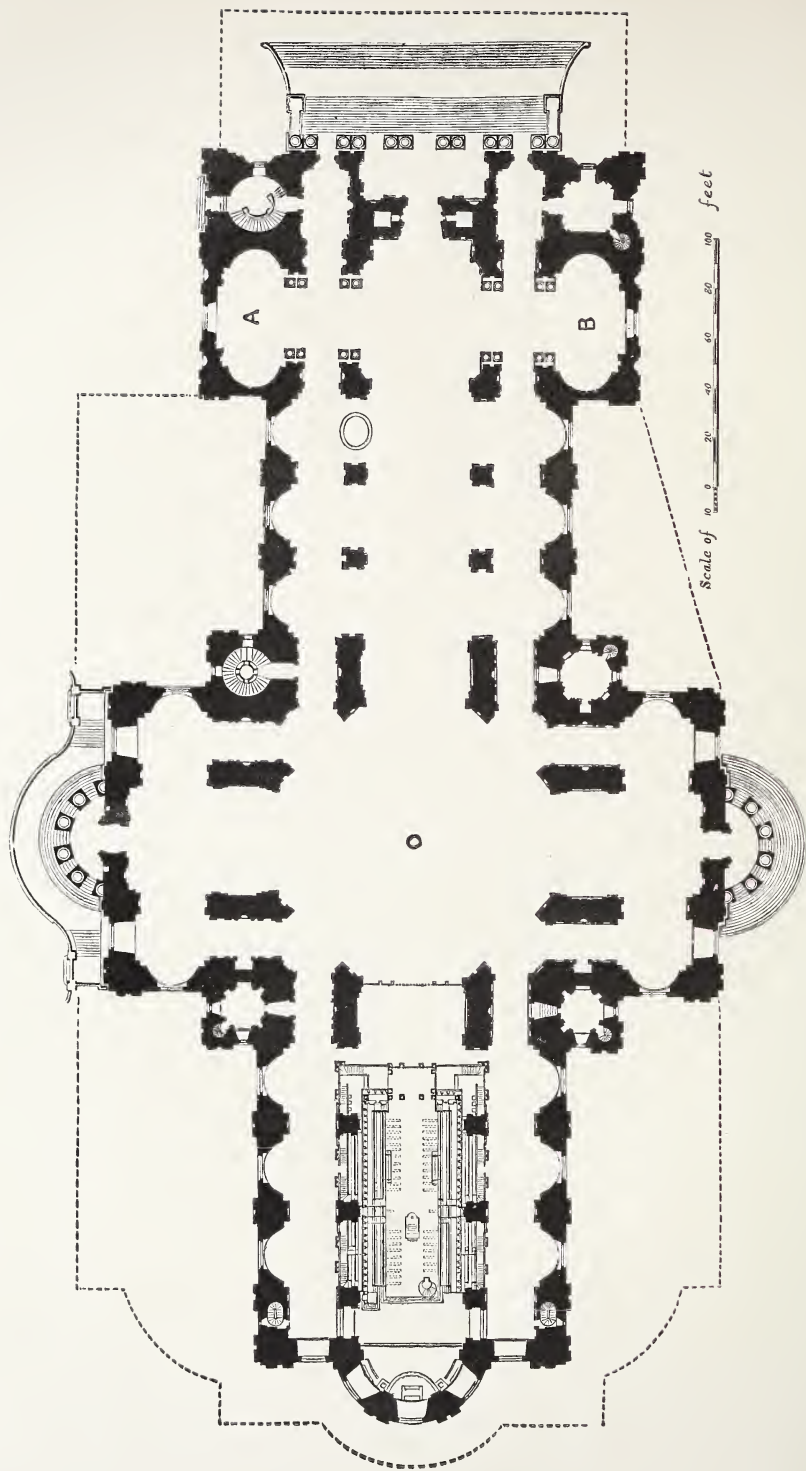
Enlarged Section of the Dome of St. Paul's, from Sir C. Wren's 'former design.'



Enlarged View, from another drawing of the above, showing the continuity of the supports of the Dome according to the Indian method.

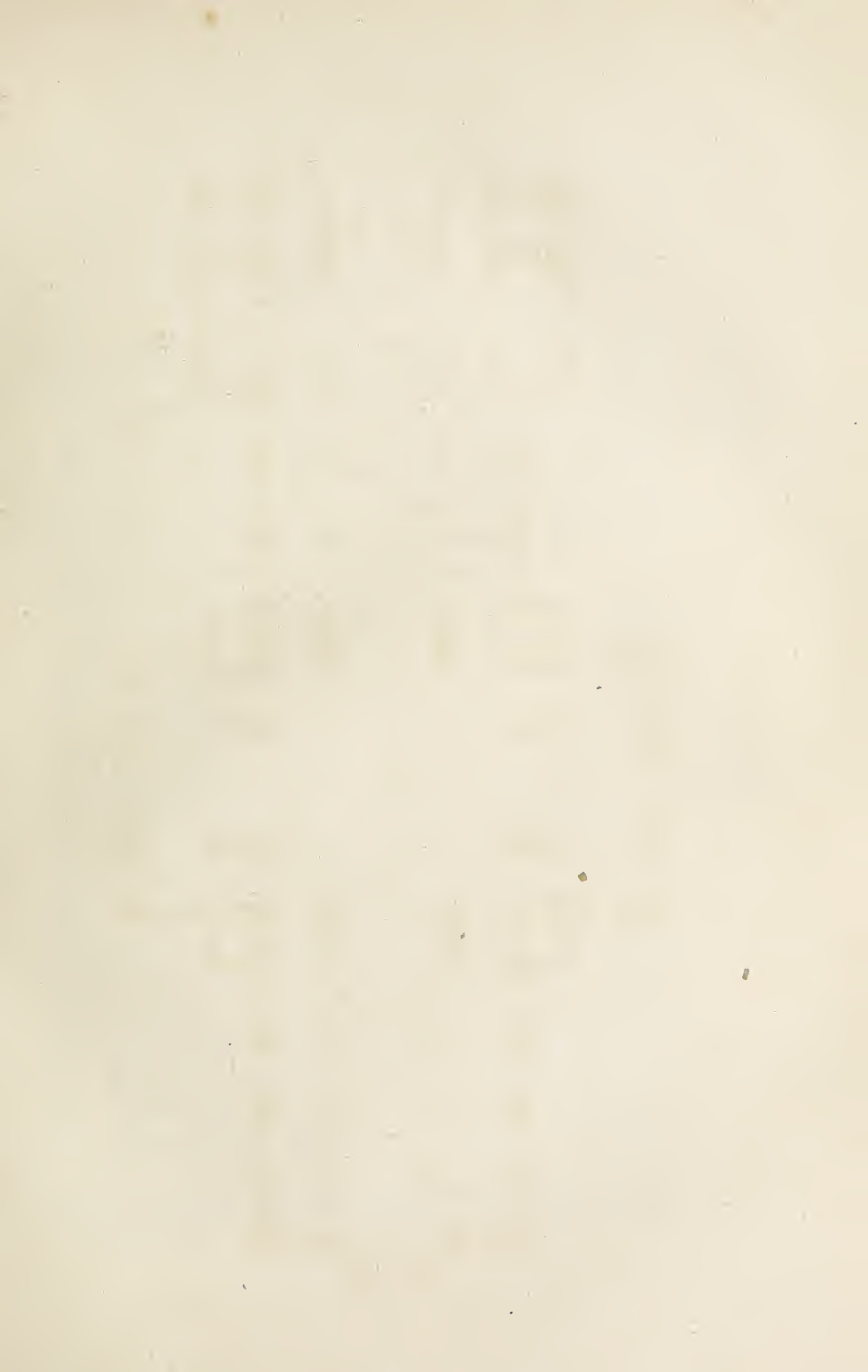
CHAPTER IX.

THE BUILDING OF THE NEW CATHEDRAL—THE GROUND
CLEARED FOR NEW FOUNDATIONS—ENQUIRY INTO ITS
GEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE—DEFECTIVE SOLIDITY IN N.E.
CORNER—DANGERS FROM STRATUM OF SAND—FIRST
STONE LAID JUNE 21, 1675—CHOIR OPENED FOR USE,
DEC. 2, 1697—LAST STONE LAID 1710—ILL TREATMENT
OF WREN—COST OF THE CATHEDRAL.



GROUND PLAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

(From an original drawing by Mr. Penrose, Surveyor to St. Paul's, with (dotted) lines, from a former drawing by Sir Christopher Wren, showing his intention as to the position of the surrounding railing.)



CHAPTER IX.

THE strength of much that remained of the old building was very great—so great indeed that one cannot but sympathise with those who wished to ‘patch it up,’ and feel inclined to believe that a new Cathedral might have been built on the foundations of the old fabric, and much use made of parts of the old structure. But it was determined to have a new building, and the old Cathedral was doomed to total destruction.

CHAP.
IX.
Strength of
the old
Cathedral.

The work of demolition had gone on for several years ; it was still far from complete, but enough progress had been made to justify more active preparations for reconstruction. On the 1st of May, 1674, Wren began to clear the ground for the new foundation.¹ The first step was to pull down the walls of the Old Cathedral, which still remained to the height of 80 feet, and to get rid of the rubbish. The timber, rag, freestone and chalk, and the smallest and less serviceable Portland stone and rubble, were ordered to be sold for use in rebuilding the parish churches, and the surplus rag stone for repairing the streets.² When Wren arrived at the middle tower, which formerly bore the steeple, and which still stood about 200 feet in height, he found it to be so strongly built, that he determined to blow it up with gunpowder as the safest way of proceeding. He used only 18 lbs.

May 1,
1674,
ground
cleared for
new foundation.

¹ Stow's *London*, vol. i. p. 649, and Ellis' *Dugdale*, p. 140 (*note*), quoting Bateman's account of the rebuilding of St. Paul's, MSS. Lambeth.

² Elmes, p. 308.

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IX.

Middle
tower
blown up
by gun-
powder.

Accident

Use of a
battering
ram in-
stead of
gun-
powder.

of powder, and with this charge he brought down not only the tower, with two great arches which rested upon it, but also two adjoining arches of the aisles and all above them. After this, being obliged to quit London for a short time, he left the next operation of a like kind to one of his subordinates, who, as Wren says, 'too wise in his own conceit, put in a greater quantity of powder, and neither went low enough, nor sufficiently fortified the mouth of the mine.' The result was that, although the desired effect was produced, a stone was shot across the churchyard into the room of a house where some women were sitting at work. No harm was done, but the people were so much alarmed that Wren was ordered not to use powder any more. He determined, therefore, to make use of a battering ram instead. 'He took a strong mast of about forty feet long, arming the bigger end with a great spike of iron, fortified with bars along the mast, and ferrels. This mast in two places was hung up to one ring with strong tackle, and so suspended level to a triangle prop, such as they weigh great guns with; thirty men, fifteen on a side, vibrated this machine to and again, and beat in one place against the wall the whole day; they believed it was to little purpose, not discerning any immediate effect; he bid them not despair, but proceed another day; on the second day the wall was perceived to tremble at the top, and in a few hours it fell.' He used this machine for beating down the rest of the walls.

Although the west end of the Church was not pulled down till 1686,¹ the ground was cleared sufficiently to allow of the new building being commenced, in but little more than a year from the time when the clearing

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 293.

began, and, as already related, the King, on May 14, 1675, ordered the work to begin. But before laying the first stone, it was necessary to look to the nature of the ground on which so immense a building was to rest securely. Wren therefore dug wells in several places for the purpose of ascertaining what it was. His statements as to the facts he discovered are unquestionably correct, and the conclusions he drew from them are perfectly sound; but the theories on which he based them are not equally so. His geology was faulty, for he mistook fresh-water for marine formations. Wren's, or rather his grandson's statement is, that he found 'that the foundation of the old church stood upon a layer of very close and hard pot-earth (or brick-earth, as he sometimes terms it), and concluded that the same ground which had borne so weighty a building might reasonably be trusted again.' But he wished to make sure, and he says that the greatest thickness of the 'pot-earth' was about six feet, that below this was a bed of dry sand, then sand and water containing what he supposed to be sea shells, about the level of low-water mark, then what he imagined to be a hard sea beach, and below this again the 'natural hard clay.' He subsequently speaks of this beach as 'a firm sea beach, which confirmed what was before asserted, that the sea had been in ages past where Paul's now is.' The 'pot-earth' as described by Dean Milman¹—on the authority of Sir C. Lyell and Mr. Prestwich, whom he consulted—is the loam or brick-earth which often forms the upper layer of the great bed of gravel covering the London clay; the two beds of sand, the sea shells, and the old sea beach are not marine, but fresh-water formations resting on the London clay—Wren's 'natural hard clay.' The latter

CHAP.
IX.

Wren
examines
the nature
of the
ground.

Descrip-
tion of the
ground on
which the
founda-
tions were
laid.

¹ *Annals of St. Paul's*, p. 406.

CHAP.
IX.

Difficulty
of finding
a good
founda-
tion.

would have formed a good soil for the foundation of the building, but Wren apparently built on the 'pot-earth' which he now calls 'brick-earth,' the 'natural hard clay' lying too deep, probably at least forty feet down. This seems evident from Christopher Wren's account of the failure of the ground at the north-east end. He says,¹ 'he began to lay the foundations from the west end, and had proceeded successfully through the dome to the east end, where the *brick-earth bottom* was yet very good. But as he went on to the north-east corner, which was the last, and where nothing was expected to interrupt, he fell, in prosecuting the design, upon a pit where all the pot-earth had been robbed by the potters of old time.' He then goes on to say, 'It was no little perplexity to fall into this pit at last. He wanted but six or seven feet to complete the design, and this fell into the very angle north-east. He knew very well that under the layer of pot-earth there was no other good ground to be found till he came to the low-water mark of the Thames, at least forty feet lower. His artificers proposed to him to pile, which he refused, for though piles may last for ever when always in water (otherwise London Bridge would fall), yet if they are driven through dry sand, though sometimes moist, they will rot. *His endeavours were to build for eternity.* He therefore sank a pit of about eighteen feet square, wharfing up the sand with timber, till he came forty feet lower into water and sea (?) shells. He bored through this beach till he came to the original clay. Being then satisfied, he began from the beach a square pier of solid good masonry, ten feet square, till he came within fifteen feet of the present ground, then he turned a short arch

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 286.

under ground to the former foundation, which was broken off by the untoward accident of the pit. Thus this north-east coin of the quire stands very firm, and no doubt will stand.' CHAP.
IX.

Wren's belief in the solidity of the ground for the foundations of the Cathedral has been fully justified by time, but yet there is danger still lurking in the bed of sand, which might become serious. If this bed of sand were pierced by a drain, there would be great probability of its running off, and leaving the pot-earth insufficiently supported. Dean Milman tells us that this danger was nearly incurred. He says, 'This cannot be too widely known, and the possible consequences of its oozing out cannot be too jealously watched. It fully justifies the apprehension of our late accomplished and scientific surveyor, Mr. C. R. Cockerell, who, when a deep sewer was commenced on the south side of the Cathedral, came to the Dean in much alarm. On the representation of the Dean and Mr. Cockerell, the work was stopped by the authorities of the city. Even the digging of graves in the part of the crypt which belonged to the parish of St. Faith (now happily at an end) was thought not altogether free from danger.'¹

Danger of
present
founda-
tion.

The ground, however, was not altogether suited for the support of so great a weight, and shortly after the Cathedral was finished, it actually did give way, and considerable repairs were thereby rendered necessary. These were undertaken by Edward Strong, son of Wren's friend, Edward Strong, hereafter to be mentioned. 'He repaired all the blemishes and fractures in the several legs and arches of the dome, occasioned by the great weight of the said dome pressing upon the foundation; the earth under the same being of an

Giving way
of founda-
tion.

Repairs
under-
taken by
Edward
Strong.

¹ *Annals of St. Paul's*, p. 408.

CHAP.
IX.

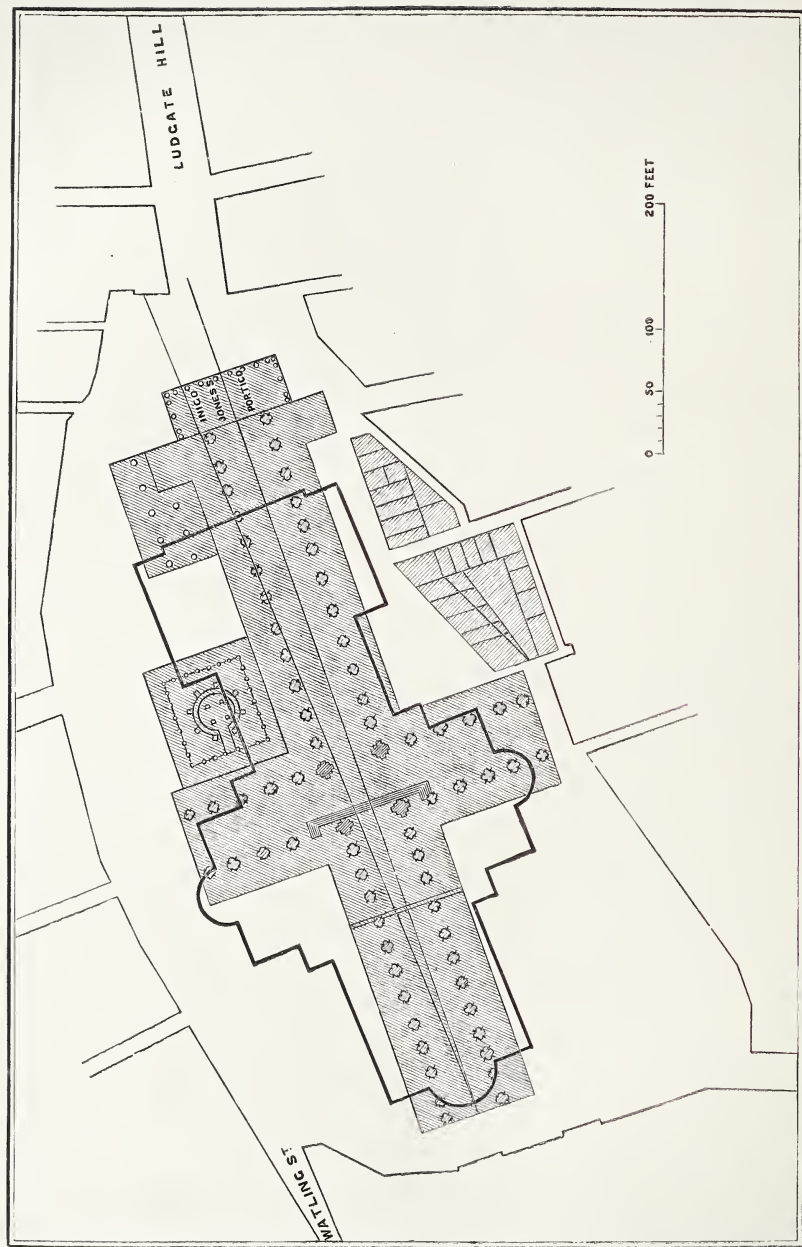
unequal temper, the loamy part thereof gave more way to the great weights than that which was gravel; so that the south-west corner of the dome and the six smaller legs of the other quarters of the dome, having less superficies, sank into the thinner part of the loamy ground an inch in some places, in others two inches, and in other places something more; and the other quarters of the dome, being on the thicker part of the loamy ground and gravel, it did not give way so much to the great weights as the other did, which occasioned the fractures and blemishes in the several arches and legs of the dome.’¹

Change of
site of
Cathedral.

The plans for the rebuilding of the city after the Great Fire, and the haste with which the owners of the ground carried them out, rendered necessary a slight change of the site of the Cathedral. As Wren says, ‘The reasons for changing the site of the church, and taking up all the old foundations, were chiefly these. First, the Act of Parliament for rebuilding the city had enacted that all the high streets (of which that which led round the south side of St. Paul’s was one) should be forty feet broad, but the old foundations streightened the street towards the east end to under thirty feet. Secondly, the churchyard on the north side was wide and afforded room that way to give the new fabric a more free and graceful aspect. Thirdly, to have built on the old foundations must have confined the surveyor too much to the old plan and form; the ruinous walls in no part were to be trusted again, nor would old and new work firmly unite, or stand together without cracks.’

‘It being found expedient, therefore, to change the foundations, he took the advantage of more room

¹ Ellis’ *Dugdale*, p. 173 (note).



PROJECTION OF OLD (SHADED) UPON THE PLAN OF NEW ST. PAUL'S.

(From Sir Christopher Wren's Drawing in the All Souls Collection, Oxford.)

northward, and laid the middle line of the new work more declining to the north-east than it was before, which was not due east and west; neither did the old front of the Cathedral lie directly from Ludgate, as it does not at present, which was not practicable, without purchasing and taking down a number of houses and the aid of Parliament. This, though much wished for, he was not able to effect; the Commissioners for rebuilding the city had, in the first place, marked and staked out all the streets, and the Parliament confirmed their report, before anything had been fully determined about the design for the new fabric. The proprietors of the ground, with much eagerness and haste, had begun to build accordingly; an incredible progress had been made in a very short time; many large and fair houses erected; and every foot of ground in that trading and populous part of the town was highly estimated.¹

CHAP.
IX.

Cramped
for room.

‘Thus was lost,’ as Dean Milman says,² ‘it is to be feared for ever, the opportunity of placing the Cathedral of London on an esplanade worthy of its consummate design; an esplanade which, we might almost say, nature, by leaving a spacious level on the summit of the hill, had designated for a noble and commanding edifice.’

Opportunity
of giving
space lost
for ever.

The first stone of the new Cathedral was laid at the south-east corner of the choir by Mr. Strong, the mason, and the second by Mr. Longland, on June 21, 1675.³

First stone
laid June
21, 1675.

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 287; and see plate (opposite) of Projection of Old upon the plan of New St. Paul's. The fact of the West front not exactly facing Ludgate Street is not without its advantages, as a perspective view is thereby presented to the observer coming up Ludgate Hill.

² *Annals*, p. 410.

³ Stow's *London*, vol. i. p. 649, and Ellis' *Dugdale*, p. 140 (*note*), quoting Bateman's account of the rebuilding of St. Paul's, MSS. Lambeth.

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IX.

The plan of the building was not exactly what Wren had wished, and was not indeed altogether satisfactory; but it was adopted after much deliberation: it was a noble design, and the gain was not small that the great work at length began. It is much to be regretted that the laying out of the streets were not delayed till the plan of the Cathedral was settled.

Progress
of the new
building.

The history of the progress of the building is meagre in the extreme. We are told that in 1678 ‘the Cathedral of St. Paul continued with undeviating progress, the eastern part, or choir, being the principal care of its architect.’¹ And again, ‘the next year, 1683, of Wren’s life, passed much the same as the last, superintending and designing for St. Paul’s Cathedral;’² and in 1684, ‘St. Paul’s continued with undeviating progress towards completion.’³ ‘This year, 1687, passed as the preceding. St. Paul’s was continued with unabated activity.’⁴ The only incident related is that of the finding of a stone on which the word ‘Resurgam’ happened, with singular appropriateness, to be engraved. Elmes⁵ thus tells the story:—‘Some time during the early parts of its works, when Sir Christopher was arranging and setting out the dimensions of the great cupola, an incident occurred which some superstitious observers regarded as a lucky omen. The architect had ordered a workman to bring him a flat stone, to use as a station; which, when brought, was found to be the fragment of a tombstone, containing the only remaining word of an inscription in capital letters, “Resurgam.” This has been asserted to have been the origin of the emblem—a phoenix on its fiery

Resurgam.

¹ Elmes, p. 384.

⁴ Ibid. p. 445.

² Ibid. p. 419

³ Ibid. p. 437.

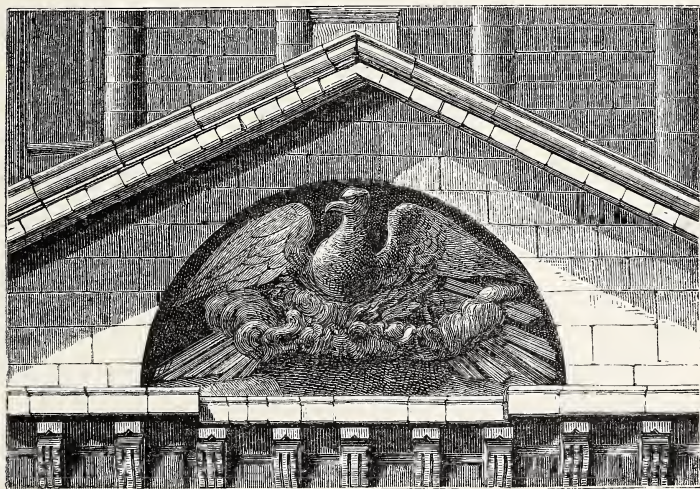
⁵ P. 384.

nest—sculptured by Cibber, over the South Portico, and inscribed with the same word ; but the rising again of the new City and cathedral from the conflagration were quite sufficient hints for the artist.’

In 1685, on the death of Charles II., a new Commission was issued by James II. for continuing the works at St. Paul’s ; from which it appears that the ruins of the old building were not entirely removed at

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IX.

James the
Second
issues a
new Com-
mission.



PHOENIX OVER SOUTHERN PORTICO.

that time, as it gives authority to ‘demolish and take down what is yet remaining of the old fabrick and carry on the new work.’¹

The work done up to April, 1684, which, as already stated,² cost the seemingly enormous sum of 109,765*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*, was, in addition to the demolition of the old building, as follows:—‘The walls of the Choir, with its aisles, being 170 feet long

Work done
to April
1684.

¹ Ellis’ *Dugdale*, p. 170 (*note*).

² In Chap. VI.

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IX.

and 120 feet broad, with the stupendous arched vaults below the pavement, were finished; as also the new Chapter House and Vestries. The two beautiful circular Porticoes of the North and South entrances, and the massy piers which support the Cupola, a circle of 108 feet diameter within the walls, were also brought to the same height, being all wrought of large blocks of Portland stone.’¹ The quarries of the Isle of Portland were devoted exclusively to the rebuilding of St. Paul’s, and by the King’s order no stone was allowed to be taken away from them without the express order of Sir Christopher Wren.

From this time (1684) to the laying of the last stone, the records of the progress of the Cathedral are still very scanty.

Continuation of progress.

In the first year of James II. an Act was passed continuing the coal duty from September 29, 1687, up to which period it had been granted by the Act 22 Charles II., till September 29, 1700, and fixing it at 1s. 6d. on each chaldron, whereof four-fifths were granted to St. Paul’s.

The West End of the old Church was taken down in 1686;² the new Choir was ready for roofing in June 1688, and it was then announced by the Commissioners that timber had been contracted for, for that purpose. Shortly after this, in 1688, ‘a fire broke out at the west end of the North Aisle of the Choir in a room prepared for the organ-builder to work in, when the Choir was nearly finished. But the communication between the work room and the organ gallery being broken down, the fire was got under, doing no other

¹ Elmes, p. 439.

² Ellis’ *Dugdale*, p. 169.

damage but to two pillars and an arch with enrichments.'¹ The damage must, however, have been considerable, for its repair cost more than 700*l*.

CHAP.
IX.

The Choir was opened for Divine service on December 2, 1697, on the Thanksgiving Day for the Peace on the Treaty of Ryswick; and the Morning Prayer Chapel on February 1, 1698. At length, in 1708, St. Paul's had proceeded so far towards completion that the best mode of covering the cupola was taken into consideration, and it was finally decided by the Committee to cover it with copper at the cost of 3,050*l*. This decision was however overruled, and it was covered with lead, at the cost of 2,500*l*.²

Choir
opened for
Divine
service,
December
2, 1697.

In 1710, when Sir Christopher Wren had attained the seventy-eighth year of his age, his son laid the highest stone of the lantern on the cupola in the presence of his father, and 'that excellent artificer Mr. Strong, his son, and other free and accepted masons, chiefly employed in the execution of the work.'³

Last stone
laid in
1710.

The Cathedral was now nominally finished, but, as has been truly said by Sir Henry Ellis, 'the execution of the Architect's plan only could be said to have been carried into effect. Many decorations, as well as necessary works, being required to embellish and finish this magnificent church.'⁴

The efforts subsequently made to complete and 'adorn' the Cathedral will be related in another chapter; but the history of the building would be

¹ Ellis' *Dugdale*, p. 172 (note). The continuator of Stow fixes the date of this fire on Feb. 27, 1698, while Bateman's MSS. gives the date I have mentioned. It seems to me that Bateman's date is preferable, for it is clear that the fire took place before the opening of the choir for Divine service, and this agrees with Bateman's date, while the date given in Stow is *after* that event.

² Elmes, p. 491.

³ *Parentalia*, p. 293.

⁴ Ellis' *Dugdale*, p. 173.

CHAP.
IX.

Disgraceful treatment of Wren.

grievously incomplete, did I not here give an account of the melancholy meanness with which Wren was treated.

‘It was a common notion and misreport,’ as the author of the *Parentalia* says,¹ ‘that the Surveyor received a large annual salary for the building of St. Paul’s, and consequently it was his interest to prolong the finishing of the fabrick for the continuance of this supposed emolument.’ In the Act 8 & 9 William III. (A.D. 1696–7), ‘for the completing and adorning the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London,’ a clause was consequently inserted ‘*to suspend a moiety of the Surveyor’s salary until the said Church should be finished*; thereby the better to encourage him to finish the same with the utmost diligence and expedition.’

Dean Milman’s defence of Wren.

Dean Milman² justly characterises this proceeding as ‘violent, wrongful, and insulting.’ But Wren had in various ways, some of which have already been mentioned, and of which more instances will be given in a future chapter, differed from and been forced to submit to the members of the Commission, from which his friend Evelyn had unfortunately been removed by death, and they were consequently spitefully resentful against him. There was also, again to quote Dean Milman, ‘a notion that a vast building like St. Paul’s, with all its accessories, all its countless details, all its infinite variety of exterior and interior ornamentation, its works of all kinds and of every kind of material, might be finished off like an elegant Italian villa, or a small church like St. Stephen’s, Walbrook.’³ How utterly groundless was the imputation of selfishness, on the part of Wren, as

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 343.² P. 436.³ P. 437.

the cause of the slow progress of the Cathedral, is at once made apparent by the fact that his salary was only 200*l.* a year—a payment not only totally inadequate to the value of his services, but too small to afford reasonable ground for the ungenerous suspicion that in order to retain it for a few years longer he delayed the progress of the Cathedral.

CHAP.
IX.

Wren protested, but protested in vain, against this iniquitous proceeding. He convinced the Attorney-General that his case was very hard, but the provisions of the Act of Parliament were clear, and could not be set aside. He petitioned the Queen, complaining that the arbitrary proceedings of some of the Commissioners delayed the progress of the building, and that he consequently was deprived of the means of receiving the withheld portion of his salary. The petition was handed over to the Commissioners, who replied in a series of excuses. He then addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and they laid the matter before the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Northey. As above stated, Northey thought Wren was unfairly treated by the Commissioners, for he said that ‘the stopping of half of his salary was intended to encourage him to use his *utmost diligence to finish the Cathedral, which, for all that appears, he hath done, and the not finishing it is not his but others’ faults.*’ But still the pound of flesh must be exacted. Wren then, as a last resource, appealed to the House of Commons, and was at last successful. An Act, 9 Anne, cap. 22, sec. 9, was consequently passed, in which it was declared that ‘the said Cathedral Church, so far as by the said Act (8 & 9 William III.) was required to be done and performed by the said Surveyor-General, is finished,’ and it was consequently ordered that the

Wren
protests
against
the harsh
treatment.

Tardy
justice.

CHAP.
IX.

suspended moiety of his salary should be paid him in full on or before Christmas Day 1711.

The questions which arose between Wren and the Commissioners about the railings and the adornment of the Cathedral will be more properly considered in the next and following chapters, in which the whole history of the efforts made for the completion of the Cathedral will be related; but in order to finish the present portion of the history of the existing St. Paul's, I must give an account of the cost of the building.

Cost of
St. Paul's.

As already stated, the cost of preparations for the new Cathedral was 10,909*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*, and of the rebuilding, from May 1674 to the end of March 1684, 109,765*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* From that date up to September 29th, 1700, there was spent 615,986*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*, and from thence to 1723, in additional embellishments, 11,000*l.*, thus making the total cost 747,661*l.* 10*s.* Sir Henry Ellis makes the total cost only 736,752*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*, but he leaves out of the account the amount spent in preparations, some of which may have been money uselessly expended, but part was absolutely necessary, and it is evident that the whole should be added to the cost of the Cathedral.

Total
receipts
and expen-
diture.

This amount does not, however, represent the whole of the receipts and expenditure. The total money received, including money borrowed, up to September 29th, 1700, amounted to 1,167,474*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.* Of this sum the enormous amount of 83,744*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* was paid for interest on money borrowed, probably because the subscriptions and coal-tax did not come in fast enough.

Receipts
and expen-
diture.

The sums borrowed amounted to 288,951*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, but when the account was made up, viz. on September 29th, 1700, only 279,290*l.* had been paid off. There was also paid the sum of 14,808*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*

for the purchase of houses which it was necessary to demolish, which indeed ought to be considered part of the cost of the new Cathedral; and lastly, there remained in hand the sum of 49,384*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.* The receipts were derived from the following sources:—
the tax on coals produced 810,181*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*; the subscriptions, which unfortunately in this account are not kept separately, and money received from King Charles II.'s gifts of arrears of impropriations, green wax fines and forfeitures, commutations on penances, and old materials, amounted to only 68,341*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*; and the money borrowed was 288,951*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* These three amounts make up the total sum of receipts, viz. 1,167,474*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.* Of the balance in hand, 11,000*l.*, as already stated, was expended, up to 1723, in 'additional embellishments,' and what remained was kept for future use.¹

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¹ Ellis *Dugdale*, pp. 179, 180

CHAPTER X.

COMPLETION OF CATHEDRAL — DISPUTES WITH COM-
MISSIONERS AS TO WALL AND RAILING, AS TO
PAINTING DOME, AND AS TO BALUSTRADE—WREN'S
DISMISSAL AND DEATH.

CHAPTER X.

THE actual building of the Cathedral was now complete. The skeleton was formed, and a marvellous skeleton it was. But it was only a skeleton, and the bones required a lining. To this day the lining has not been supplied, although, from time to time, efforts—at length, we hope, about to be successful—have been made for this purpose.

The indispensable adjuncts of the building were added during the lifetime of the great Architect. But how were these necessary additions to the structure made? In every detail Wren was thwarted by the narrow-minded Commissioners. There was nothing, however small, as to which they did not set up their opinion in opposition to his; there was nothing, however important, that they did not ‘wrest out of his hands.’

The first dispute was about the iron fence round the Churchyard, and the first question was, whether it should be made of hammered or cast iron. Wren was for the former, and a meeting was held at Lambeth to consider the question. The author of the ‘Answer to a pamphlet entitul’d “Frauds and Abuses at St. Paul’s,”’¹ says, ‘He was present indeed, but was overruled by a majority prepared for the purpose. He then, as well as several times before, gave his opinion that hammered iron was

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X.

The Cathedral
finished
but not
completed.

Wren
thwarted
by Com-
missioners

Dispute
about
wall and
railing.

¹ London: printed for John Morphew, near Stationers’ Hall, 1713,
Price 1s. P. 17.

CHAP.
X.

Dean
Milman's
opinion.

much cheaper and more durable than cast : nor was it barely an opinion, but a truth which he had been convinced of by long experience.' Cast iron was chosen. The material selected was therefore chosen in direct opposition to Wren's opinion. But the great dispute relative to this iron railing was probably on a much more vital question than as to the mere material. Dean Milman says, 'It involved the full, or broken and interrupted, view of the great west front of St. Paul's, or rather of the whole Cathedral. It was the design of Wren that it should be seen in all its height and breadth, with all the admirable balance and proportion of its parts. He therefore would have kept the fence low, and strongly objected to the tall, ponderous enclosure, which broke, obscured, or concealed the vestibule, the noble flight of steps, the majestic doors, the whole of the solid base or platform from which the building rose. But the Commissioners, utterly blind to the architectural effect, proud of their heavy, clumsy, misplaced fence, described Sir Christopher's design as mean and weak, boasted that their own met with general approbation, and so left the Cathedral compressed in its gloomy gaol, only to be fully seen, and this too nearly, by those who were admitted within the gates, usually inexorably closed.'¹

Want of
exact
evidence as
to Wren's
particular
objections.

With the fervid indignation thus eloquently poured forth, with which Dean Milman condemns the railing round St. Paul's, I sympathise most heartily ; and it is probable that the Dean has correctly expressed the feelings which burned in Wren's soul, and that by a happy inspiration of genius he arrived at a correct conclusion from imperfect premises. But, with the exception of the expression, '*a poor mean iron rail on each side of*

¹ *Annals*, p. 439.

the great ascent at the west end,' in the letter of the Commissioners to the Duke of Shrewsbury,¹ which may be supposed to show what kind of railing Wren wished to put up, and Wren's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Commissioners, dated Jan. 25th, 1710—1711,² I can discover no evidence showing the style of railing proposed by Wren, or what Wren's objections to the railings put up by the Commissioners exactly were, and there is absolutely no evidence whatever that he objected to the wall.³

In the letter of the Commissioners there is the following passage:—'The following order of the Commissioners, Feb. 1, 1710, that no rail be set up about the Queen's statue, until a model of it be approved by the Commissioners, was only made that the fence might be noble and in some measure agreeable to the statue. And we were the rather induced to do this, because Sir Christopher had just before, without consulting the Commissioners, set up a poor mean iron rail on each side of the great ascent at the West End, dislik'd by everybody, and which we conceive ought to be taken down again.'

In Wren's letter he says, 'Nothing can be said now to remain unperfected, but the Iron Fence round the Church and painting the Cupola, the directing of which is taken out of my hands, and therefore I hope that I am neither answerable for them nor that the said suspending clause can or ought to affect me any further on that account. As for painting the Cupola, your Lordships know it has been long under

Wren's
letter
about the
iron
railing.

¹ *Frauds and Abuses*, p. 30.

² *Answer to Frauds and Abuses*, p. 59.

³ The *position* of the railing, intended by the Architect, is shown in an original drawing by Sir Christopher Wren, in the All Souls' Collection. See Plate of Ground Plan of St. Paul's.

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X.

consideration, that I have no power left me concerning it, and that it is not resolved in what manner to do it, or whether at all. And as for *the iron fence*, it is so remarkable and so fresh in memory by whose instance and importunity *it was wrested from me, and the doing it carry'd in a way that I may venture to say will be ever condemned*. I have just this to observe further, that your Lordships had no hand in it, and consequently ought not to share in the blame that may attend it.'

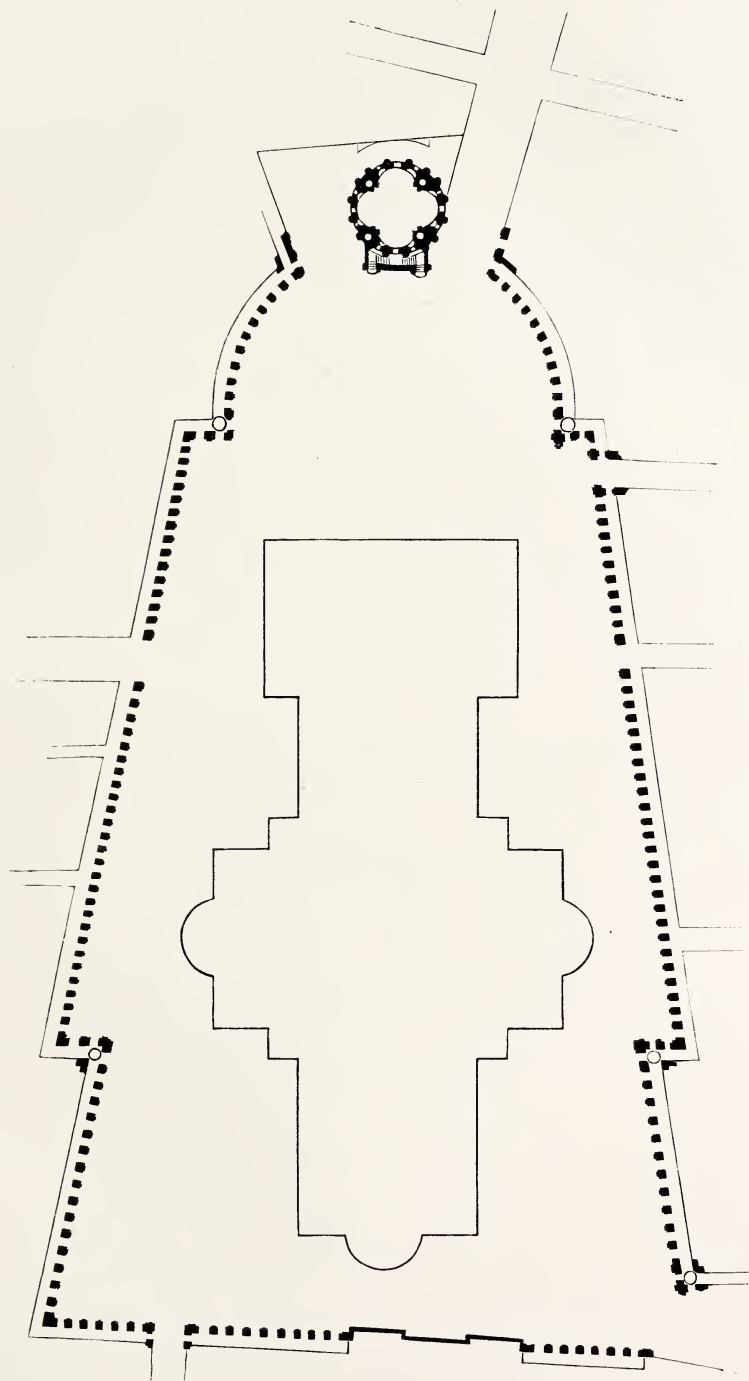
That Wren most strongly objected to the iron railing, put up by the Commissioners, is thus most perfectly clear, and his prophecy as to its perpetual condemnation has proved strictly true ; but, with the exception of the words 'poor, mean,' as applied to another part of the railing, there is nothing to show what were the grounds of his objection.¹ We may congratulate ourselves, however, that the 'heavy, clumsy, misplaced fence' and wall are now condemned—Dean Milman's opinion doubtless contributed not a little to this result—and that shortly we shall be able to see the Front of St. Paul's unencumbered by its enclosure.

The wall
and railing
now to be
pulled
down.

Another point of dispute, to which reference is made in Wren's letter just quoted, was the painting of the Cupola or Dome, which, to his great annoyance, was taken out of his hands. Well may he have disclaimed being answerable for it ! As Dean Milman says, 'The Cupola, instead of being brought down by dark and heavy figures, ought to have melted upwards into light.

The paint-
ing of the
Dome.

¹ It is very probable that Wren had in his mind some remembrance of a magnificent design which he had once prepared, with a circular Baptistery opposite the West front of the Cathedral, and the Churchyard itself surrounded by arcades. This design, of which the annexed engraving is a copy, is in the collection of Wren's drawings in the vestry of St. Paul's.



GROUND PLAN OF ST. PAUL'S, WITH SURROUNDING ARCADES AND A BAPTISTRY.
(From a Drawing by Sir C. Wren, in the Vestry of the Cathedral.)

In truth, to paint a cupola, nothing less was required than the free, delicate, accurate touch, the brilliant colour, the air and translucence of Correggio. Instead of lifting the sight and thought heavenwards, Thornhill's work, with its opaque and ponderous masses, oppresses and lies like a weight upon the eye and mind.' It is not that the designs are bad in themselves, the magnificent series of engravings of each compartment¹ furnish evidence, on the contrary, that they are of a high order of merit; but the paintings were misplaced, and they were wrong in colour.

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It was Wren's intention to have lined the Dome with Mosaic. 'The judgement of the Surveyor was originally, instead of painting in the manner it is now performed, to have beautified the inside of the Cupola with the more durable ornament of Mosaick-work, as is nobly executed in the Cupola of St. Peter's in Rome, which strikes the eye of the beholder with a most magnificent and splendid appearance, and which, without the least decay of colours, is as lasting as marble or the building itself. For this purpose he had projected to have procured from Italy four of the most eminent artists in that profession; but as this art was a great novelty in England, and not generally apprehended, it did not receive the encouragement it deserved. It was imagined also that the expense would prove too great, and the time very long in the execution. But though these and all objections were fully answered, yet this excellent design was no further pursued.'²

Wren
intended
Mosaic.

¹ The following is a list of the engravers of these paintings:—

One is signed—'BARON, sculpt, Conct.'

" " 'SIMMONEAU, Maj^r, sculpsit, Paris.'

" " 'BEAUVAIS sculpt, Lond.'

Three are " 'GER. V^{dr} GUCHT sculpsit, Lond.'

² *Parentalia*, p. 292 note (a).

CHAP.

X.

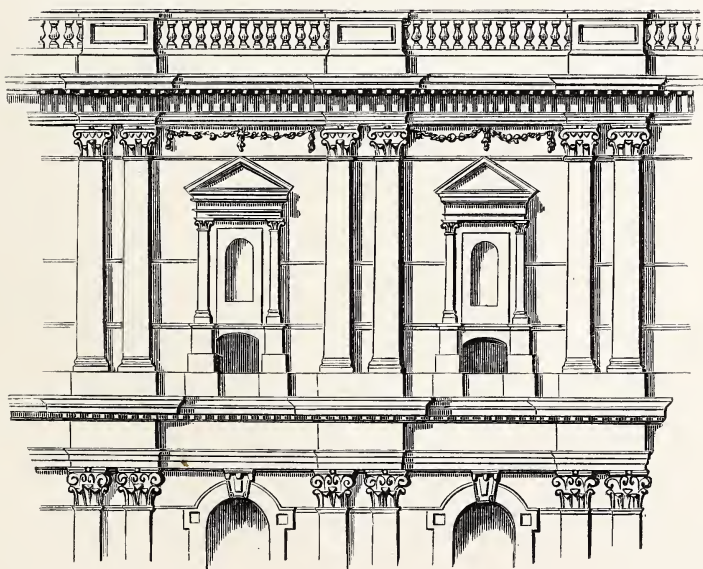
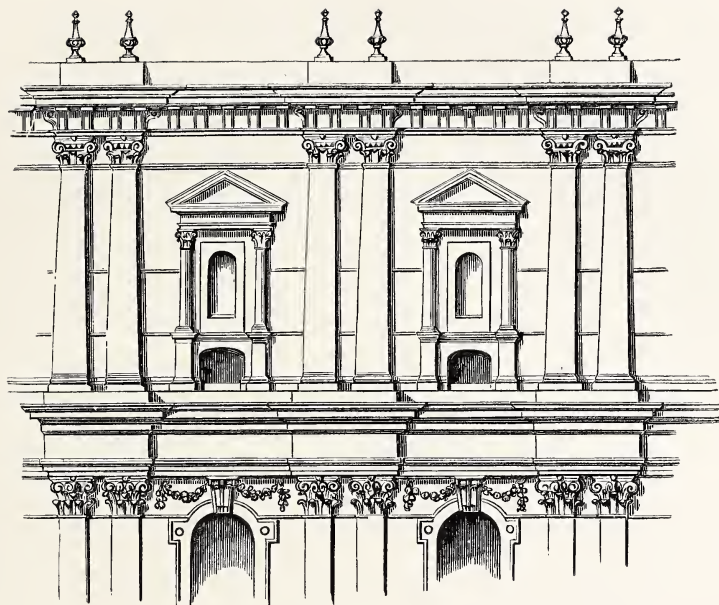
Dispute
about
Balus-
trade.

Wren's
objections.

There was one other great dispute between Wren and the Commissioners. It related to the Balustrade which crowns the upper cornices. Wren designed St. Paul's without such balustrade; but the Commissioners determined to have one, and peremptorily informed Wren 'that a balustrade of stone be set up on the top of the Church, unless Sir Christopher Wren do, in writing under his hand, set forth that it is contrary to the principles of architecture, and give his opinion in a fortnight's time; and if he doth not, then the resolution of a balustrade is to be proceeded with.' Wren remonstrated. He wrote a letter to the Commissioners on October 28th, 1717, in which he said, 'I take leave, first, to declare I never designed a balustrade. Persons of little skill in architecture did expect, I believe, to see something they had been used to in Gothic structures, and *ladies think nothing well without an edging*. I should gladly have complied with the vulgar taste, but I suspended for the reasons following.' These were that, in his plan, he made no provision for a balustrade; that its introduction would be inharmonious, because a balustrade may be considered to be a sort of plinth over the upper colonnade; and that there was already over the entablature a proper plinth which regularly terminated the building.¹

In addition to these reasons, he said that a balustrade must have solid parts in the form of pedestals, at intervals, to enable it to resist the force of high winds; that these solid parts should be placed over other solid parts, such as pilasters; and that where the pilasters are doubled, they might properly be surmounted by a pedestal. This, he admitted, might be done, for he

See Plate (opposite) showing the Plinth of St. Paul's with and without the Balustrade.



PLINTH OF ST. PAUL'S, WITH AND WITHOUT BALUSTRADE.

(Taken from original drawings in the 'Gardner Collection.')

says, 'as in our case;' but he adds, that in some parts this could not be done, because the pilasters could not be doubled in the inward angles, as 'the two voids, or more open parts, would meet in the angle, with one small pilaster between, which would create a very disagreeable mixture.' Wren's objections were disregarded, and the balustrade was put up.

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X.

The
Balus-
trade.

Wren also objected to vases, or other ornaments, for much the same reasons. He says that, in the inward angles, there would hardly be room for one where there ought to be two, and that even for one the space would not have allowed it to be of a sufficient size to prevent its looking contemptible from below. He proposed, however, to have statues on the four pedestals for which he said he had laid pedestals in the building.¹ In this case his advice was followed. A new Commission had been appointed in May 1715, and among them appeared, for the first time, the name of Sir Isaac Newton;² but, as Dean Milman says,³ whether Newton attended the meetings does not appear—let us hope not. The balustrade dispute was in 1717.

After this, Wren had no more quarrels with the Commissioners. He no longer had an opportunity of opposing his experienced knowledge to their untutored ignorance of his art; for, to his own eternal disgrace and to that of all concerned, King George in the following year superseded the patent of the great Architect. Five years afterwards he died. For Wren's dismissal there was no pretence of any reason. It was decided on, seemingly, only for the purpose of putting in his place William Benson, a favourite of the King, condemned to an unenviable immortality by Pope's lines in the 'Dunciad,' and who was expelled ignomi-

Wren's
dismissal
and death.

¹ Elmes' *Life of Wren*, pp. 508-510. ² Ibid. p. 507. ³ P. 442.

CHAP.
X.

Scanty
materials
for history
of 'com-
pletion,' not
'adorn-
ment.'

niously from his office, after holding it for only a year.

The history of the details of the completion, as distinguished from the adornment, of St. Paul's, now claims attention; but the materials for this purpose are so scanty that it is almost impracticable to impart any great interest to its relation.

After the last stone was laid in 1710, there were various works necessary for the completion of the Cathedral. This is clearly recognised in the Act of the 9th of Anne, in which it is provided that the 'standing salaries to any officers employed only for the carrying on and finishing the said building' shall cease on December 25th, 1711; and Bateman, in his 'State of the Coal Duty,' says that 'all works and ornaments remaining unfinished about the Church may be supposed to be completed within that year (1711).' This supposition is treated by the writer of 'Frauds and Abuses' as an absurdity.¹

Cross and
Ball.

The works to be done externally were as follows:—First, the Cross and Ball were to be erected. Of the time when this was done, the way in which it was accomplished, and of its cost, singularly enough, no record seems to remain. The next point was to add

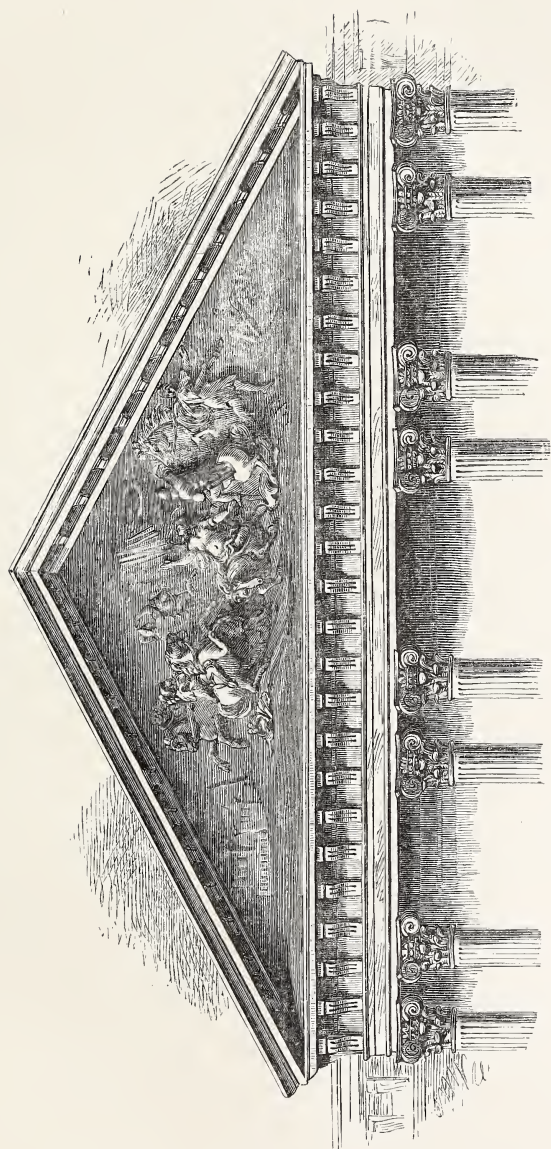
Sculptures.

the sculptures to the various parts of the building. These were: the Conversion of St. Paul, in the pediment of the West front, the statues on the four pediments, and the effigy of Queen Anne in the Court at the West end. They were all executed by Thomas Bird, an artist of no great reputation, who received for the 'Conversion' the sum of 650*l*.

Grinling
Gibbons'
carving.

Internally, nothing of importance, and certainly nothing of value, was done, except the completion of

¹ Pp. 39, 40.



BIRD'S SCULPTURE OF THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL, IN THE PEDIMENT OF THE WESTERN FRONT OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

Copy of Inscription on the Model in the Cathedral Library :

'This Model of part of the West end of St. Paul's Cathedral was presented to the Vicar of Shiplake, A.D. 1833, by Mr. J. Plumbé, of Henly-on-Thames, who had purchased it from Badgmore House, once the residence of Richard Jennings, the Master-Builder of that Cathedral.'

the choir by the exquisite carved stalls by Grinling Gibbons, for the carving of which he was paid the moderate sum of 1,333*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*, and the erection of Tijou's beautiful ironwork gates and grilles. The organ was erected soon after the year 1700. The miserable painting of the East end of the choir, 'in imitation of veined marble, at 4*s.* a yard,' and the wretched sham of 'the fluted pilasters, painted with ultramarine, and veined with gold, in imitation of lapis lazuli, at a cost of 160*l.*,'¹ were the work of this time; but, in justice to Wren, it must be stated that 'the Painting and Gilding of the architecture of the East end of the Church, over the Communion-table, was intended only to serve the present occasion, till such time as materials could have been procured for a magnificent design of an altar, consisting of four pillars wreathed, of the richest Greek marbles, supporting a Canopy hemispherical, with proper decorations of Architecture and Sculpture, for which the respective drawings and a model were prepared.'²

A new Ball and Cross were erected by Mr. Cockerell in 1821; and, it may be interesting to state that, in 1848, a 'crow's nest' was erected on the top of the Cross by the Ordnance Surveyors, as the best place from whence a survey of London could be made.

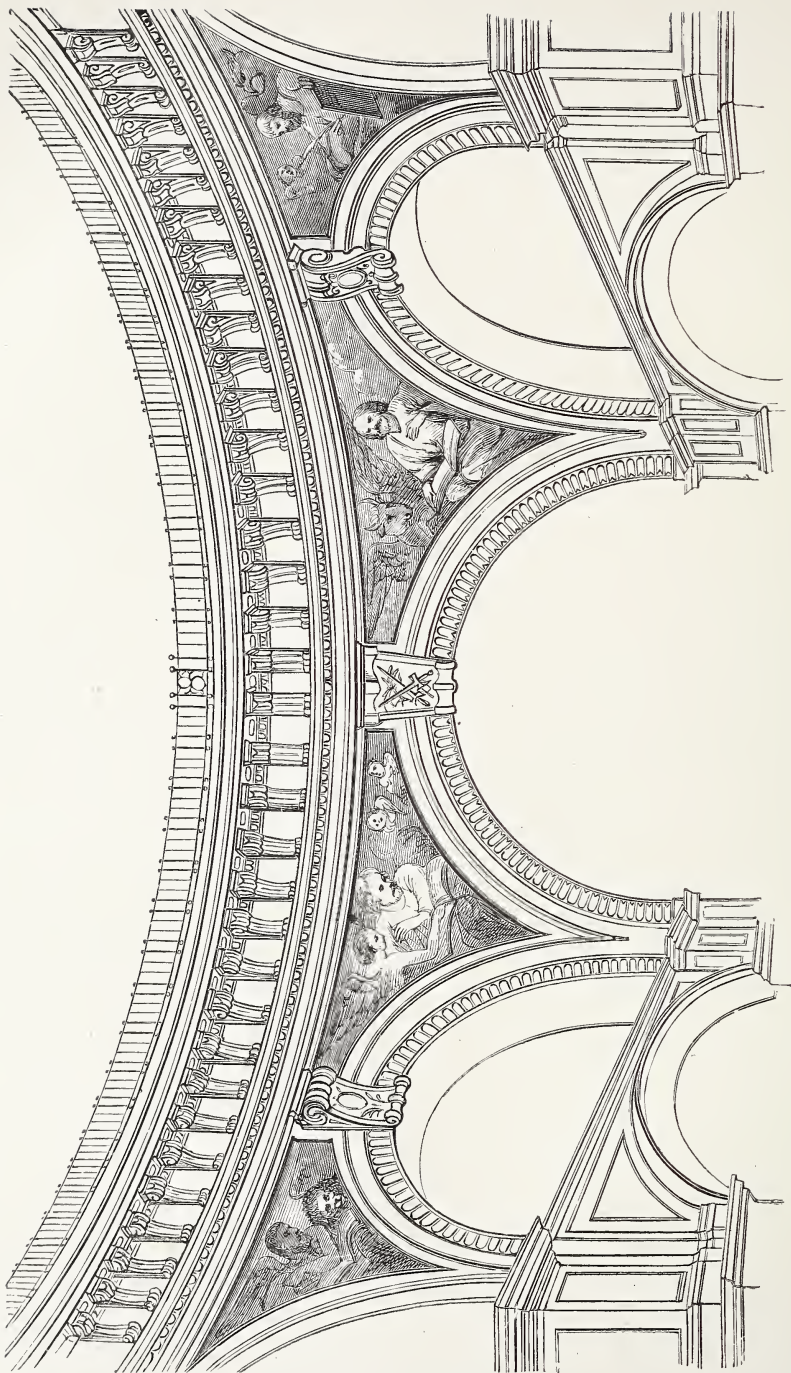
The history of the attempts at 'adornment' will be given in the next chapter.

¹ Malcolm's *Lond. Rediv.* vol. iii. p. 105.

² *Parentalia*, p. 292, note (a). The Model is represented on page 110.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ADORNMENT OF ST. PAUL'S.



ORNAMENTATION ON STANDRELS OF ARCHES AROUND THE DOME OF ST. PAUL'S.

(From an old engraving in the 'Gardner Collection,' by 'Will. Emmett.')

CHAPTER XI.

It has long been a question, and will long remain so, whether Sir Christopher Wren intended any 'adornment' of his Cathedral. We have hardly any materials to assist us in answering the question. We have seen that it was Wren's wish to line the Dome with Mosaic, and to place a splendid Baldachino in the Choir. Beyond this, we have absolutely nothing to guide us, except an engraving of the interior of the Dome, by William Emmett, of the date, probably, of 1702.¹ This, however, may be looked on as evidence of some value. Unlike Gwyn's imaginative print,² it was published in Wren's lifetime, while the building of the Cathedral was actively going on and approaching completion. It may therefore be concluded, with some reasonable amount of probability, that it was executed with Wren's approval. In this print, the spandrels are filled with designs, as represented in the annexed illustration. Beyond this, we know nothing.

CHAP.
XI.

Difficulty
of ascer-
taining
Wren's
intentions.

The material of these spandrels is not Portland stone,

¹ See annexed illustration. I am indebted to Mr. Gardner, to whom I have expressed my obligations in my Preface, for a sight of this print. At a meeting at his house Mr. Penrose's keen eye discovered the indications of adornment I have mentioned.

² Said to have been designed chiefly from records in Stephen Wren's hands. This print was engraved by Rooker, and published in 1755, thirty-two years after Wren's death. As remarked by Mr. Wyatt Papworth, in a letter to the 'Times,' it is interesting to note that the engraving was published only five years after the *Parentalia*, which does not contain the facts upon which the merit (if any) of the plate depends.

CHAP.

XI.

like the rest of the structure, but a stone of a softer quality. It is therefore presumable that this choice of material had reference to some contemplated adornment by painting or mosaic.

It is however as impossible to decide whether Wren intended to leave the Cathedral in its naked coldness, as it is to determine in what way, if at all, he intended to introduce colour. But it is hardly possible to imagine that he contemplated—as we know he did contemplate—a gorgeous Dome and a magnificent Baldachino, and, at the same time, proposed to leave the rest of the building without colour and without decoration of some kind. Moreover it is perfectly certain that the universal expectation was, that there would be an ‘adornment’ of the Cathedral. The language of almost every Act of Parliament having reference to St. Paul’s is ample evidence of this. The first Act having relation to the completion of St. Paul’s, is that of 1 Jac. II. c. 15 (1685). In sec. 5 of this Act it is provided that a portion of the Coal Duty shall be applied ‘to the Re-building, Finishing, and *Adorning* the said Cathedrall of St. Paul’s.’

‘Adorn-
ment’
always
intended.

Again, that iniquitous Act, 8 & 9 Will. III. c. 14 (1696–7), which, under the pretence of ‘encouragement’ to the Surveyor, with a grim sarcasm took away half his salary, is entitled ‘An Act for the Compleating, the Building, and *Adorning* the Cathedral Church of St. Paul.’ The same words are used in 1 Anne, stat. 2, c. 12 (1702). A further, though not so strong confirmation of the belief that ‘adornment’ was intended is to be found in Bishop Newton’s account of his own life, prefixed to his works. After expressing his disapproval of allowing the Dome to be painted by Thornhill, he says,

¹ He died Dean of St. Paul’s in 1782.

‘They had better have been placed below, for there are compartments which were originally designed for bas-reliefs or suchlike decorations, but the Parliament, as it is said, having taken part of the fabric money, and applied it to King William’s wars, Sir Christopher Wren complained that his wings were clipt, and the Church was deprived of its ornaments.’¹

CHAP.
XI.

That ‘adornment’ was therefore intended seems to be placed beyond a doubt; and the use of that word would more correctly describe the efforts whose history it is the purpose of this chapter to relate than the word usually used, viz.—‘completion.’ The question, however, ‘In what way “adornment” shall be carried out?’ has hitherto received no answer; but there is good reason to hope that it soon will be answered.

For exactly fifty years after Wren’s death no attempt seems to have been made to effect the ‘adornment’ of the Cathedral. At last, towards the end of 1773, a proposal was made by the Royal Academy of Arts, which, as Dean Milman justly observes, was fortunately not accepted.

In his ‘Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds,’ Northcote says that at one of the evening meetings it was proposed to paint the interior of Somerset House Chapel, with the view of convincing the public of the advantage of thus decorating churches. The proposal was well received, but Sir Joshua Reynolds suggested, ‘that, instead of the Chapel, they should fly at higher game, and undertake St. Paul’s Cathedral.’ It is somewhat remarkable that there is no indication of the way in which Reynolds proposed that this ‘undertaking’ of St. Paul’s Cathedral should be carried out. It is nowhere stated whether the pictures were to be

Proposal of
the Royal
Academy,
in 1773.

¹ 4to. London, 1782, vol. i. p. 106.

CHAP.
XI.

wall paintings, or oil paintings hung against the wall, although the latter, from the expressions used, seems the more probable, and we do not know where they were to be placed. Reynolds' proposal, however, was received with acclamation, and communications were immediately opened with Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol, who was then Dean of St. Paul's. The Dean and Chapter were all equally pleased with the idea; and the Academy then selected six artists to carry it out. These were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, Barry, Dance, Cipriani, and Angelica Kaufmann. Of these there were only two who possessed the qualities necessary for the execution of so great a work. It is needless to say that one was Reynolds, and the other Barry. The subject which Reynolds proposed to execute was that of The Nativity.

If it was the intention to paint on the walls themselves, as Dean Milman supposes, we must thoroughly sympathise with him when he says, 'I confess I shudder at the thought of our walls covered with the audacious designs and tawdry colouring of West, Barry, Cipriani, Dance, and Angelica Kaufmann.'¹ If, on the other hand, it was intended that the pictures should be oil paintings, no great harm would have been done, for removal would have been easy.

But although the Dean and Chapter favoured the plan, two of the Trustees of the Cathedral—the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London—opposed it. Bishop Terrick, especially, strenuously objected, and, from Dean Newton's account, apparently for the absurd reason that the plan savoured of Romanism. Reynolds therefore informed the members

Its rejection.

¹ *Annals*, p. 471.

of the Academy 'that all thoughts of it must consequently drop.'¹

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XI.

The Dean, however, was not inclined so easily to give up the project, and endeavoured to persuade the opponents to try an experiment on a small scale of the effect of pictures. He therefore proposed that as, over the two doors, one opening into the north and the other into the south aisle, there are 'proper compartments for two pictures,' 'Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. West should paint these two pictures.' The subject proposed for that by West was the Giving the Tables to Moses, and for that by Reynolds The Nativity. But the Archbishop and the Bishop were inexorable, and the scheme fell to the ground.²

The Dean in vain endeavours to experiment on a small scale.

For three quarters of a century after Reynolds' proposal nothing more was done, except the restoration of Thornhill's paintings by Mr. Parris, in 1853—and this might well have been left undone. All attempts at adornment were given up; St. Paul's seemed absolutely forgotten, except as a place of burial for great soldiers and sailors, and as the National place for public thanksgiving. As for adornment, as for cheerful colour, the cold shade of a religious sentiment, which has now in great part passed away, forbade a renewal of any attempt to introduce it.

Restoration of Thornhill's paintings.

At length, in 1858, the Bishop of London addressed a letter to Dean Milman (who had succeeded Bishop Copleston in the Deanery, on November 1st, 1849, and who had been in communication with Mr. Penrose two years previously), and to the Chapter, urging upon them the advisability of instituting a series of special evening services for the benefit of those large

Renewed attempts at 'adornment,' 1858.

¹ Northcote's *Life of Reynolds*, 4to. Lond. 1813, pp. 196–198.

² Newton's Works, vol. i. p. 106.

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XI.

masses of the people whom it might be impossible to attract in any other way. The Dean had previously written as follows:—‘Since the death of Sir Christopher Wren, nothing whatever, I believe, at least nothing important, had been done till the present day for the completion and decoration of the interior of St. Paul’s Cathedral. Even the windows are probably the temporary windows introduced by Wren, till others more suited to the architecture and dignity of the building could take their place. With the exception of the restoration of Sir James Thornhill’s paintings in the cupola,—under the circumstances, as I am now inclined to think, an injudicious application of labour and funds,—no work of any magnitude was undertaken. It would seem as if the immense sum required had appalled the imagination, and checked all desire to embark upon any extensive scheme of improvement. The first light of a new day arose from the wish to render the Cathedral more available for its primary object, the worship of God.’¹ Dean Milman elsewhere expresses the same feelings as to the restoration of Thornhill’s paintings. He says, ‘I must acknowledge that, according to my present judgment, I deeply regret the cost and labour expended on the restoration of Thornhill’s work. But it was done when our only thought was to repair what was actually in existence, and to preserve the paintings, which were falling off in flakes, or hanging loose on the walls. The bolder thought of attempting to ornament the interior of the Church, rose afterwards with the determination to use the space under the

Proposed
use of the
Dome for
congrega-
tional
worship.

¹ Milman’s *Annals*, p. 495.

Dome for public service. This use of the space under the Dome was no doubt contemplated by Wren.¹ CHAP.
XI.

Here, then, at last, was an idea which instantly became the parent of other thoughts, and quickly produced actual and most important results. It has done so until the present day, and we may hope that it will continue to do so until the Cathedral of St. Paul's properly takes its place, in an architectural point of view, among the noble Cathedrals of England.

If the zeal of the present Dean and Chapter flag not—and we have no reason to fear such a result—Prayer, Praise, and Thanksgiving will be offered up more worthily, and more nobly, in that Sacred Building than in any other in the United Kingdom.

Dean Milman responded nobly to the Bishop's appeal. He said, 'It has been the dearest wish of my heart, since I have had the honour of filling the high station of Dean of St. Paul's, to see not one narrow part alone of this great building applied to its acknowledged purposes, the worship of God and the Christian instruction of the people; but beside this, that instead of the cold, dull, unedifying, unseemly appearance of the interior, the Cathedral should be made within worthy of its exterior grandeur and beauty. That exterior, I presume to say, from its consummate design, *in its style of architecture*, is the noblest Church in Christian Europe,—the masterpiece of our great British Architect, Sir Christopher Wren; the glory, it should be the pride, of the City of London, of the Christian people of the realm. I should wish to see such decorations introduced into St. Paul's as may give some splendour, while they would not disturb the solemnity, or the exquisitely

Dean
Milman's
Letter.

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 441 (note).

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XI.

harmonious simplicity, of the edifice; some colour to enliven and gladden the eye, from foreign or native marbles, the most permanent and safe modes of embellishing a building exposed to the atmosphere of London. I would see the Dome, instead of brooding like a dead weight over the area below, expanding and elevating the soul towards Heaven. I would see the sullen white of the roof, the arches, the cornices, the capitals, and the walls, broken and relieved by gilding, as we find it by experience the most lasting, as well as the most appropriate decoration. I would see the adornment carried out in a rich and harmonious (and as far as possible from gaudy) style, in unison with our simpler form of worship.' In a note to the above eloquent response to the Bishop's appeal, the Dean adds, 'After the experiments which have been made, to marble and gilding, Mosaics would now probably have been added.'

Formation
of Com-
mittee.

'In pursuance of the double motive indicated by this letter, an appeal was made and a Committee was appointed, which, from its first formation, was supported by many of the leading merchants and bankers of the City.' The result was, that, in addition to special donations, about 24,000*l.* was raised, and up to the death of Dean Milman, in 1868, about 10,000*l.* was spent on matters connected with the services, and about the same amount on the decorations.

There can be no doubt that the sum spent on the preparation of the Dome for the vast congregations which now attend the services and on other matters connected with the celebration of Divine worship was well spent. But there may be a difference of opinion as to whether the money expended on the decorations has been equally

¹ *Annals*, p. 496.

well bestowed. The greatest question connected with the latter subject is, 'Whether it was desirable to fill the windows with light-obscuring painted glass?' especially in an atmosphere like that of London. The answer must be that it is, at least, very doubtful. A building like St. Paul's requires light. Windows filled with heavy painted glass seem hardly in accordance with this view of the requirements of the Cathedral. But there is yet another reason why such stained glass windows, as those now in the Cathedral, should be regarded as inappropriate. The great want of the interior of the Cathedral, after light, is—colour. Colour, in a Classical as opposed to a Gothic building, must, inevitably, be given by one of three methods, viz. either by painting, by marble, or by mosaic. It is not for me here to offer an opinion as to which of these three methods is the best; but it is clear that colour must be given by two, and possibly, to some small extent, by all of the three. That is, colour must come from appliances to the interior, and not from the exterior. It seems necessarily to follow from this that no strong colour should be admitted from the windows, and that the light admitted through them should be lessened as little as practicable. Pure white unadorned glass in little squares is mean, cold, and wretched; but it is probable that it would not be difficult to devise some delicate colour for the glass with which the windows are filled, that would harmonise with, and even heighten the beauty of the colours of the interior. Whether, in order to relieve them from the monotony of unadorned colour, it would be desirable to decorate them with figures, architecture, or some kind of ornaments, is a question for the architect.

The fatal step of inserting heavily coloured painted

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Enquiry as
to painted
windows.

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windows was first finally decided on at a meeting of the Committee, on May 10th, 1861. On that day the Surveyor to the Fabrick was directed to go to Glasgow to inspect the windows in the Cathedral in that city. At the next meeting after his return, on May 31st, 1861, he was instructed to communicate with Professor Hess and Messrs. Ainmüller, of Munich, and thus, the fate of the Cathedral, to be loaded with Munich glass, was sealed. Is it too late to retrace the fatal step? In justice to Dean Milman and his Committee, however, it should be stated, as related by Mr. Penrose, the Surveyor to the Fabrick, that they most rigidly intended to limit the use of the Munich glass to the East and West Ends, and to the ends of the two transepts. They were of opinion, that the light from the side windows would be enhanced rather than diminished by reducing the glare from the ends.¹

As to other questions connected with the way in which the adornment of St. Paul's was carried out between 1858 and 1868, it is neither necessary nor desirable here to enter into any discussion. Much was done well, but much might, perhaps, have been done better. The funds raised were utterly inadequate to the requirements; public enthusiasm was not raised to the requisite height; and finally, Dean Milman's illness and death necessarily checked the promotion of his favourite scheme.

Dean
Milman's
death.

Soon after Dean Milman's death another Committee was appointed, the first meeting of which took place on May 14th, 1870, and on the 13th July following, a public meeting was held at the Mansion House, at which a large sum was subscribed. From that time until Dean Mansel's death, on July 31st, 1871, the time of the

¹ Milman's *St. Paul's*, Appendix D, p. 524.

Committee was occupied chiefly in preparations, but nearly 40,000*l.* had been subscribed.

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At length, soon after the appointment of Dean Church, peculiar circumstances gave a new life to the adornment scheme, which has lasted in full vigour till the present day, and which promises, at length, to carry it to a successful accomplishment, and to render Dean Church's tenure of office one of the most memorable of any from the foundation of the Cathedral.

Appoint-
ment
of Dean
Church.

In the autumn of 1871, the Prince of Wales was struck down by a dangerous illness, from which recovery seemed almost hopeless. The intense anxiety of the nation for his restoration to health, the eagerness with which the daily bulletins were scanned, and the joy of the nation when his recovery was certain, can never be forgotten by the present generation. When the Prince's health was at last restored, the national offering of thanks to God in the National Cathedral was the idea which naturally sprang up in the minds of the nation. It needed but a spoken word to insure its universal acceptance. The Queen having been consulted, expressed her hearty concurrence, and it was decided that a National Thanksgiving should be offered up, in St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 27th of February, 1872.

Illness of
the Prince
of Wales.

In accordance with the precedents of 1664 and 1678, a 'Book of Subscriptions' for the completion of St. Paul's was opened, in which Her Majesty and the Prince of Wales inscribed their names as subscribers on the evening before the Day of Thanksgiving.

The national gathering took place, and national subscriptions poured in for the completion of the Cathedral. But next to the providing of funds for the cost of 'adornment,' the most important question requiring settlement

National
Thanks-
giving,
Feb. 27,
1872.

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XI.

Appoint-
ment of an
architect.

was the appointment of an architect for planning and carrying it into execution. The surveyor, Mr. Penrose, had never been formally appointed to this responsible office, and consequently had never been in a position to put forward, in an authoritative manner, the views he entertained on the subject. It was therefore resolved, on the 21st March, 1872, 'That it is expedient to obtain the highest professional advice upon the various works connected with the completion of St. Paul's.'

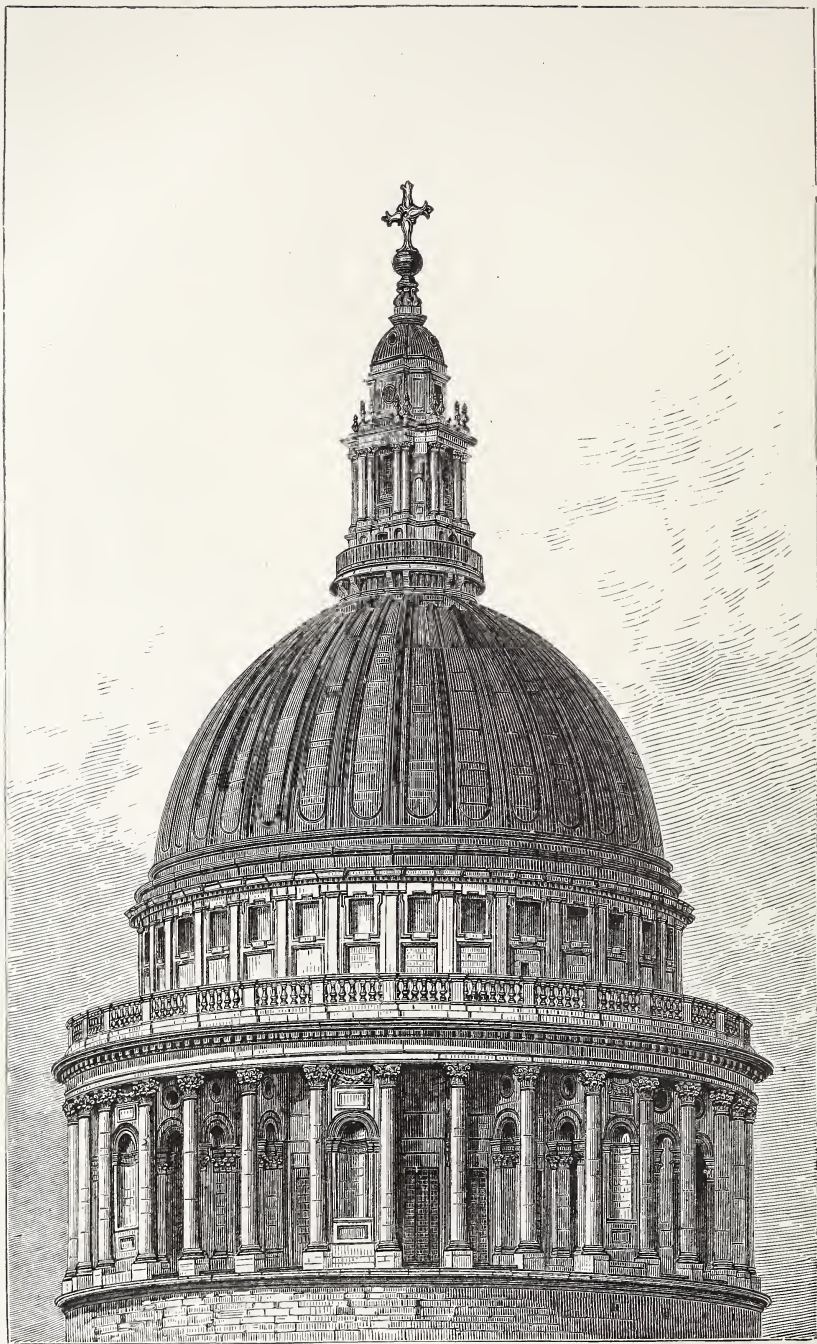
Appoint-
ment of Mr.
Burgess.

It is unnecessary, and most assuredly unadvisable, here to relate the difficulties with which the carrying out of this resolution was surrounded. It is sufficient to state that on April 22nd Mr. William Burgess was elected architect for the completion of St. Paul's.

The amount subscribed up to March 31st, 1873, is about 56,000*l*.

CHAPTER XII.

DESCRIPTION OF ST. PAUL'S.



DOME OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER XII.

THE knowledge of the most accomplished architect, combined with the descriptive powers of the most eloquent writer, would be required to do justice to the grandeur and magnificence of St. Paul's. I cannot pretend to even any approach to the first, and without it, had I the graphic pen of a Macaulay, it would be hardly practicable to paint in words a building the vast extent and noble proportions of which stand in the way of its appreciation by uninstructed minds. But I can supply my deficiencies by the knowledge of others; and I can say for myself, that the almost daily view of the beautiful West front, with its grand flanking campaniles, towered over by the majestic Dome, surmounted by the sign and emblem of Christianity, ever resplendent and ever recalling high and noble thoughts, increases, in my mind, instead of diminishing, admiration of Wren's masterpiece.

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Difficulty
of doing
justice to
the magni-
ficence of
St. Paul's.

I have therefore in the following description of the Cathedral availed myself of the writings of accomplished scholars, and I am indebted chiefly to those of Mr. Joseph Gwilt, and of Sir Henry Ellis.¹

Descrip-
tion of
St. Paul's.

The form and dimensions of the building claim the first place in this account.

¹ Sir Henry Ellis' edition of Stow, and Mr. Gwilt's account of St. Paul's Cathedral in the first volume of *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*, by J. Britton, F.S.A., and A. Pugin, architect, London, 1825.

CHAP.
XII.Form,
length,
breadth,
and
height.

The form is that of the long or Latin cross. Its extreme length, including the Porch, is 500 feet; the greatest breadth, that is to say, across the Transept but within the doors of the Porticoes, 250 feet; the width of the Nave 118 feet. There are, however, at the foot, or western end of the Cross, projections northward and southward, which make the breadth 190 feet. One of these, that, namely, on the North side (marked B in the annexed plate), is used as a morning chapel, and the other, on the South side (marked A), contains the Wellington monument, and was formerly used as the consistory court. Independently of the use to which these projections are turned, they are considered by some critics as expedients for lengthening and giving importance to the West front.

Mr. Wightwick's remarks on the North and South Chapels.

It is curious, as a contrast to these opinions, to quote the remarks of Mr. Wightwick, in a paper communicated by him to the Royal Institute of British Architects,¹ on the North and South projections at the West end:—‘It was by command of the Popish Duke of York that the North and South Chapels, near the Western end, were added to the reduction of the Nave aisles, and the lamentable injury of the return fronts of the two towers, which therefore lost in apparent elevation, by becoming commingled with pieces of projecting façade on the North and South sides. Thus were produced the only defects in the longitudinal fronts of the Church. The independence of the towers is destroyed, their vertical emphasis obliterated, and a pair of excrescences is the consequence, which it were well to cut away. All that could be done to diminish the evil was accomplished: but no informed eye can view the perspective of the Cathedral from the North-west or

¹ *Sessional Papers*, 1858–59, p. 122.

South-west, without seeing how no architect, who only admitted a "variety of uniformities," could have intentionally formed a distinct component in an exterior of otherwise uniform parts, by a tower having only one wing, and that too flush with its face. With this exception, the general mass of the Cathedral is faultless, *i.e.*, as the result of a conciliation between the architect's feeling for the Roman style, and his compelled obedience to the shape prescribed.' CHAP.
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At the internal angle of the Cross are small square bastion-like adjuncts, whose real use is to strengthen the piers of the Dome, but they are inwardly serviceable as vestries and a staircase. Vestries
and
Staircase.

The height of the Cathedral from the Street on the South side to the top of the Cross is 365 feet.¹

The Exterior consists throughout of two orders, the lower being Corinthian, the upper Composite. It is built externally in two stories, in both of which, except at the North and South Porticoes and at the West front, the whole of the entablatures rest on coupled pilasters, between which, in the lower order, a range of circular-headed windows is introduced. But in the order above, the corresponding spaces are occupied by dressed niches standing on pedestals pierced with openings to light the passages in the roof over the side aisles. The upper order is nothing but a screen to hide the flying buttresses carried across from the outer walls to resist the thrust of the great vaulting.² The
Exterior
two orders
and two
stories.

The West front has a magnificent Portico, divided, West
front,

¹ The following are the corresponding dimensions of St. Peter's at Rome taken from Fontana's plan :—Length, 630 ft.; breadth, 440; width of nave, 220; height, 437½.

² The merits and demerits of this sham architecture are pointed out on a subsequent page.

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like the rest of the building, into two stories, one above the other. The lower consists of twelve coupled and fluted columns, that above has only eight, which bear an entablature and pediment whose tympanum is sculptured in bas-relief representing the Conversion of St. Paul. On the apex of the pediment is a figure of the Saint himself, and at its extremities, on the right and left of St. Paul, are figures of St. Peter and St. James.

Transepts.

The Transepts are terminated upwards by pediments, over coupled pilasters at the quoins, and two single pilasters in the intermediate space.

Campaniles.

On each side of the Western Portico a square pedestal rises over the upper order, and on each pedestal a steeple, or campanile tower, consisting of a circular angle of Corinthian columns finishing in small domes, formed by curves of contrary flexure, very like bells. Lower down, in front of these campaniles, the four Evangelists are represented with their emblems. In the face of the southern campanile a clock is inserted; in the northern a similar opening has been left, which has never been filled up.¹



STEPS AT WESTERN ENTRANCE, AS ORIGINALLY PLANNED BY SIR C. WREN,
AND AS NOW INTENDED TO BE CARRIED OUT.

Steps.

A flight of steps of black marble, extending the whole length of the Portico, forms its basement.²

¹ It is to be regretted that it should still remain vacant: why should it not be utilised either as a wind dial or as an anemometer, or, perhaps better still, as a magnificent self-registering aneroid barometer?

² The arrangement of these steps is not Wren's, perhaps Benson's.

On the north side is a semicircular Portico, consisting of six Corinthian columns, forty-eight inches in diameter, resting on a circular flight of twelve steps of black marble, and finishing in a semi-dome. Above is a pediment resting on pilasters in the wall, on the face of which are the Royal Arms, supported by angels with palm branches, and under their feet the lion and unicorn, the statues of five of the Apostles being placed at the top at proper distances.

CHAP.
XII.North
Portico.

The South Portico answers to the North, except that, on account of the lowness of the ground on that side of the Church, it is entered by a flight of twenty-five steps. In the pediment above is represented a Phoenix rising from the flames, of which an account has been given in a former page. On the top of the pediment are five other figures of Apostles.

South
Portico.

At the East end of the Church is a circular projection for the Altar. Under the lower principal window, beneath a Crown, and surrounded by the Garter externally, is the cypher of King William and Queen Mary.

East end.

The Dome, which is by far the most magnificent and elegant feature in the building, rises from the body of the Church in great majesty.¹ It is 145 feet in outward and 108 feet in inward diameter. Twenty feet above the roof of the Church is a circular range of thirty-two columns, every fourth intercolumniation being filled with masonry, so disposed as to form an ornamental niche, or recess, by which arrangement the projecting buttresses of the Cupola are concealed. These, which form

The Dome.

Those designed by Wren, as shown in the annexed woodcut, had the ends properly returned. In the improvement of the Church Yard now in progress, it is intended to restore the steps according to Wren's design.

¹ See annexed Plate.

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a peristyle of the Composite order with an unbroken entablature, enclose the interior order. They support a handsome gallery, adorned with a balustrade. Above these columns is a range of pilasters with windows between them forming an Attic order,¹ and on these the great Dome stands. As Mr. Gwilt says, it may be safely affirmed that, for dignity and elegance, no church in Europe affords an example worthy of comparison with this Cupola. The general idea of the Cupola, as appears from the *Parentalia*, was taken from the Pantheon at Rome. On the summit of the Dome—which, as already stated, is covered with lead—is a gilt balcony; and from its centre rises the Lantern, adorned with Corinthian columns. The whole is terminated by a gilt Ball and Cross.

Lantern.

Ball and
Cross.

The
Interior.

I now proceed to the Interior.

Entrance
doors.

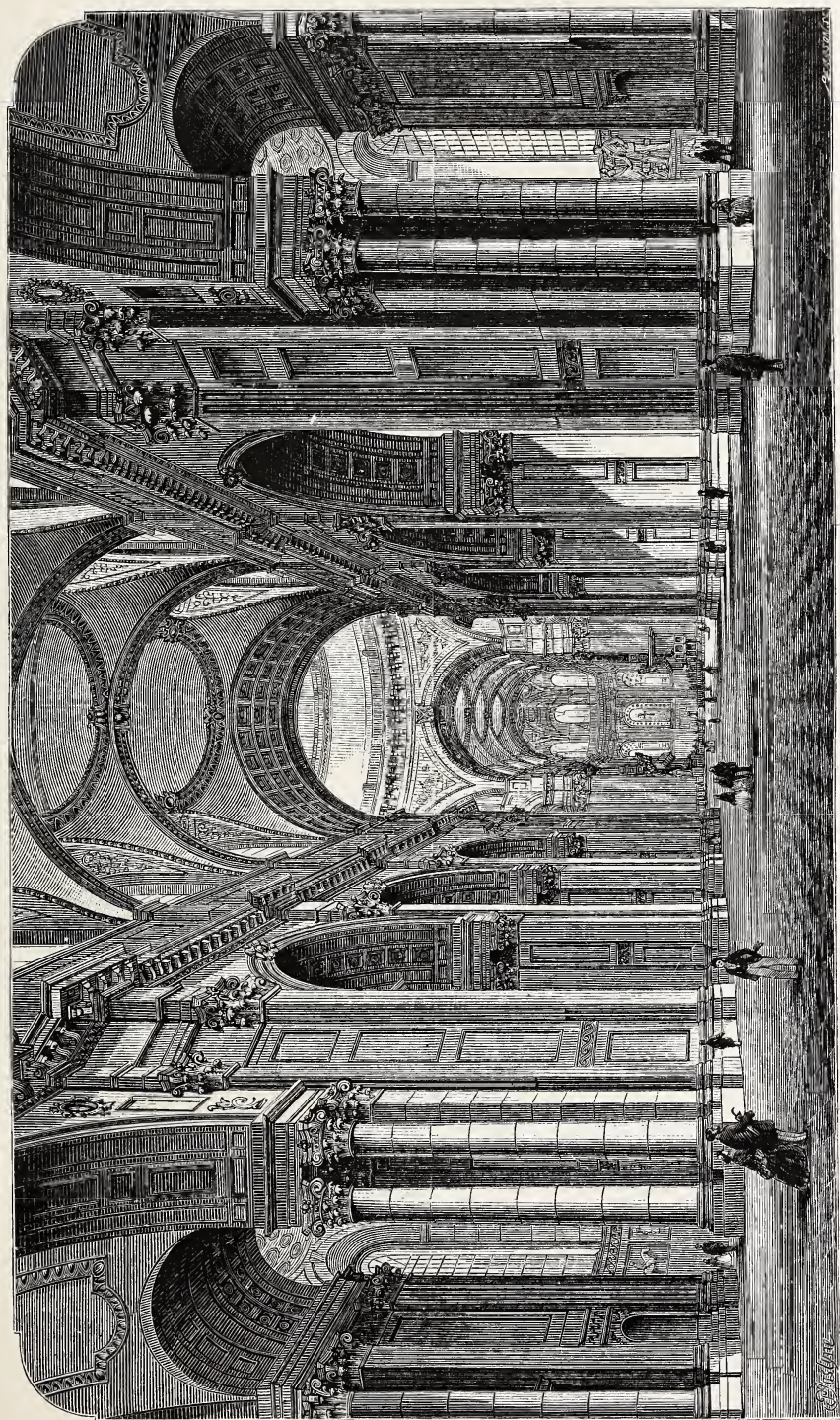
On ascending the steps at the West end of the Church, we find three doors, ornamented at the top with bas-reliefs, that over the middle door representing St. Paul preaching to the Bereans.

The Nave :
its arches.

The interior of the Nave is formed by an arcade resting on massive pillars, and dividing the Church into a body and two aisles. The pillars which carry these arches are strengthened and adorned by two orders of pilasters (excepting the westernmost arch, where the smaller order is columnar). These consist of a larger Corinthian order restricted to the central nave, and which carries the main entablature and a smaller

¹ An *Attic* is a small story above the cornice, or principal elevation of a building. An *Attic order* is an inferior order of architecture, used over the principal order of a building. It never has columns, but, sometimes, small pilasters. For illustrations of Attic Stories, see Somerset House, Strand front, and the New Treasury Buildings.





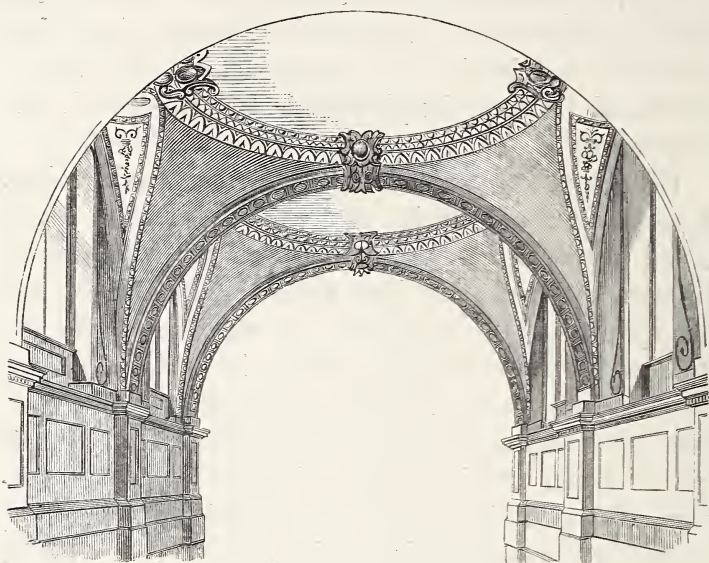
INTERIOR OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.
LOOKING EAST.

Composite order, which is crowned by an architrave, interrupted only by the larger pilaster, from which spring the pier arches and the transverse ribs of the vaulting of the aisles. The archivolts of the pier arches rise above the level of the great order, which is discontinued between the pilasters in order to permit this impropriety.

Of the main entablature, the cornice only reigns The Nave. throughout the Church. Over this order rises a tall Attic, which breaks with the entablature over each pilaster, and by its break makes an abutment pier for the springing of semi-circular arches, which form the transverse ribs of the main vault. In each severy, or portion from pilaster to pilaster (excepting the westernmost), the length is not equal to the breadth; and this circumstance introduces a complication into the vaulting. The vault is produced by a portion of a sphere, of which the centre is level with the top of the Attic, and which is intersected by a true cylinder longitudinally and an elliptic cylinder laterally. The former intersection necessarily coincides with the simple semi-circular transverse arches, but the latter forms groins of double curvature, which are carved into continuous narrow ribs, or bands, of flowers. The spaces between these groins and the transverse ribs form pendentives for the support of the shallow dome which completes the surface. This dome, however, is really part of the same sphere as the pendentives, but is separated by a bold cornice, and has the appearance of being carried by the transverse ribs and groins already described. The cornice is adorned by shields and other ornaments.

The western severy of the Nave is square on the plan, and consequently the regularity of the pendentives is here preserved. Another difference in this

CHAP. XII. severly is, that the pier arches spring from isolated columns coupled with the pilasters attached to the



PENDENTIVES OR SPANDRELS.

piers, and on the north and south open into the morning chapel and consistory already mentioned, which are both parallelograms on the plan, and are terminated at the eastern ends by semicircular tribunes.

The Nave. The eastern piers of the Nave serve at the same time for the support of the Cupola. They are wider than the other piers, and are flanked by pilasters at their angles and have shallow oblong recesses in the intercolumniations. The roof over these piers is a boldly coffered waggon vault, which contrasts very effectively with the rest of the vaulting.

Clerestory. In the upright space on the walls, where intersected by the elliptic cylinders of the cross vaulting, a clerestory is introduced over the Attic order. To this Mr.

Gwilt strongly objects, as will be related in the next chapter.

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The Aisles, which are extremely low compared with the Nave, are vaulted from the small Composite pilasters which support the arcade of the Church. The pendentives here are regular; otherwise the treatment is analogous to that of the principal vault.

The Aisles.

The Nave is separated from the Choir by the area over which the Cupola rises. From the centre of this area, the Transepts, or traverse of the Cross, diverge to the North and South, each extending one severy, or arch, in length.

Central
Area.

The Choir, which is vaulted and domed over, like the Nave and Transepts, from the top of the Attic order, is terminated eastward by a semicircular tribune, whose diameter is, in general terms, the same as the width of the Choir itself. The western end of the Choir has pillars similar to those at the eastern end of the Nave, uniform with which there are at its eastern end piers of the same extent and form, except that they are pierced for a communication with the side aisles.

The Choir.

Above the entablature and under the Cupola is the Whispering Gallery, and in the concave above are representations of the principal passages of St. Paul's life in eight compartments, painted, as already stated, by Thornhill.

Whisper-
ing Gallery
and
Cupola.

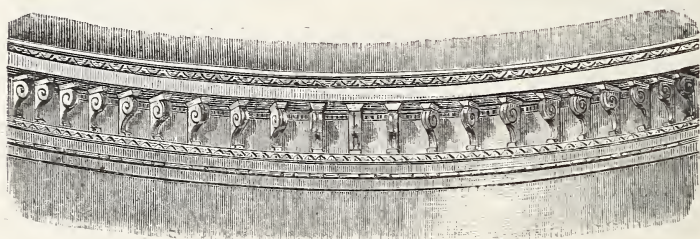
The eight large piers under the Dome are equal in size, but not equidistant. Mr. Gwilt remarks, that Sir Christopher Wren very judiciously gave the preference to an octagon in place of a square for the base of his Cupola in the area of the Church, as thereby the projection of the pendentives is considerably reduced. The four larger openings—40 feet

Central
area under
Cupola.

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XII.

Its eight
Arches all
equal.

wide—between the piers occupy the spaces where the Nave, Choir, and Transepts diverge from the great circle; the lesser ones are between them. These latter are surmounted by arches 26 feet wide, which spring from the architrave of the main order; but the eight upper arches which receive the cornice of the Whispering Gallery are all equal. This is effected by extending the springing point in the Attic so as to break over the re-entering angular pilaster below. The spandrels between the great arches are so wrought as to form the area into a circle, which is crowned



CANTALEVER CORNICE ROUND INNER DOME.

by a large cantalever cornice, partly supporting, by its projection, the Whispering Gallery. Above the cornice of the Whispering Gallery a tall circular podium rises up for the reception of the order immediately under the Dome. The order is Composite. Its periphery is divided into eight portions of three intercolumniations each, pierced for windows. Each of these divisions is separated from that adjoining it by a solid pier, one intercolumniation wide, decorated with a niche. The piers so formed connect the wall of the inner order with the external peristyle, and thus serve as counterforts to resist the thrust of the inner brick cupola, as well as of that of the conical wall (which carries the stone lantern, reputed to be of the

The order
above the
Whisper-
ing
Gallery.

enormous weight of 700 tons), neither of which are more than two bricks in thickness.

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The podium and order just described, and which together form the 'Drum' of the Cupola, incline inwards as they rise, and it is worthy of remark, that their bearing is solely on the great arches and their piers, without any false bearing on the pendentives—a precaution, says Mr. Gwilt, which evinces great judgment. A plinth over the order receives the inner dome, which is of brick plastered. The plastering, as already stated, is disfigured by the dull-coloured work of Sir James Thornhill. The Dome is pierced with an eye in its vertex, through which a vista is carried up to the small dome in which the great cone terminates.

Its
judicious
construc-
tion.

Painting
of the
Cupola.

The construction of St. Paul's now claims our attention, and, in the opinion of competent critics, the engineering skill displayed in it is greater even than its architectural excellence.

The con-
struction of
St. Paul's.

Mr. Gwilt, whose minute yet comprehensive and appreciating study of St. Paul's is of the greatest value, says that the mechanical skill and ingenuity exhibited by Wren in the construction of St. Paul's, the due equipoise of the counteracting forces, and the proper adjustment of their opposite effects, call to mind the observations in Hooker's 5th book of his 'Ecclesiastical Polity: '—'All things are in such sort divided into finite and infinite, that no one substance, nature, or qualitie can be possibly capable of both. The world, and all things in the world, are stinted, all effects that procede from them, all the powers and abilities whereby they worke, whatsoever they doe, whatsoever they may, and whatsoever they are, is limited, which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and also the preservation thereof. Measure is

Gwilt's
extract
from
Hooker's
'Ecclesiastical
Polity.'

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that which perfecteth all things, because everything is for some end, neither can that thing be available to any end which is not proportionable thereunto, and to proportion as well excesses as defects are opposite. Again, forasmuch as nothing doth perish, but only through excess or defect of *that*, the due proportioned measure *whereof* doth give perfection, it followeth that measure is likewise the preservation of all things.' As Mr. Gwilt adds, 'A train of reasoning that is so applicable to the arts, deserves to be written in letters of gold over the doors of all academies that profess to nurture them.'

Greatest effects by slenderest means a test of skill.

In considering the peculiarities of the construction of St. Paul's, Mr. Gwilt begins by stating that it is obvious that that building deserves the greatest praise in which the greatest effects are produced by use of the slenderest means, and that from this point of view St. Paul's claims our unqualified admiration. He compares it with St. Peter's at Rome and Santa Maria at Florence, two churches whose plans bear some resemblance to each other and to St. Paul's; and he says that the best method of comparison is to take the space of ground which each building covers, and compare it with the superficial area of the piers and walls which support their roofs or other coverings.

Superficial area of Three Churches.

The result is as follows :

	Stands on an area of English square feet	Of which area its points of support occupy English square feet	The proportion of the latter to the former
St. Peter's	227,069	59,308	= 0.261
Santa Maria	84,802	17,030	= 0.201
St. Paul's	84,025	14,311	= 0.170.

Mr. Gwilt, however, adds that 'it is curious to observe that the proportional number which would be assigned to the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris would be 140, and that in all probability, on a comparison of the above with some of our own cathedrals, the low ratio at which they would appear would surprise and astonish us.' This may be considered as a calculation of the amount of support required for the covered enclosure of a given space. But if, as the same eminent architect says, a comparison is made of a section from north to south through the transepts of these churches, the result will be very different. This is, in fact, a comparison of the amounts of material employed to give the necessary strength. The clear internal areas of these three churches, as compared with their external areas, is as follows:—

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XII.

Com-
parative
quantity of
material in
the same,

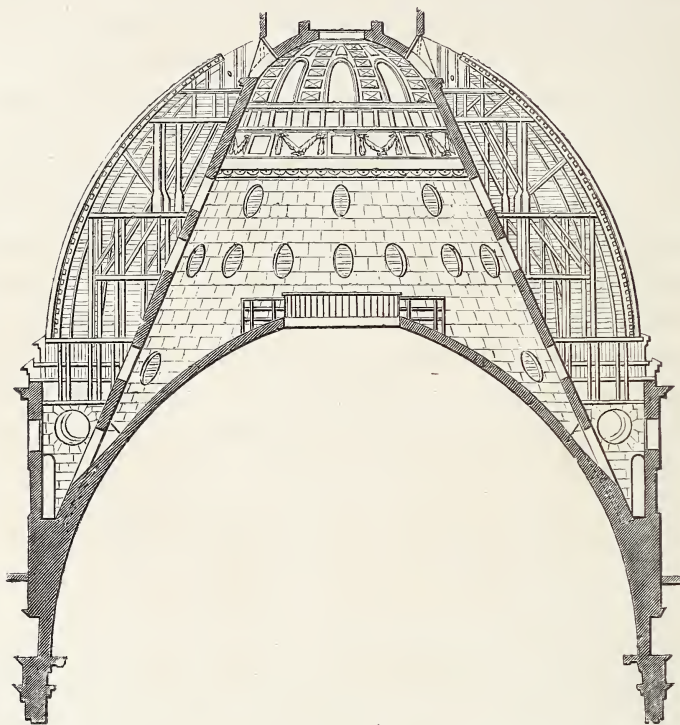
In Santa Maria as	.	.	.	8,855 to 10,000
„ St. Peter's	„	.	.	8,325 „ „
„ St. Paul's	„	.	.	6,865 „ „

In this comparison St. Paul's comes out the least perfect, and with reference to the principle involved, Mr. Gwilt says, 'The same observation, in respect of the Gothic cathedrals, as was made on their horizontal areas, quite as strongly applies to their vertical areas. The builders of the Middle Ages seem to have found out the minimum of strength necessary for the purpose.'

Mr. Gwilt then goes on to express his admiration of the interior cone of the Dome. He says, 'Among the most elegant applications of science ever perhaps introduced into a building, is the conical wall, between the inner and outer domes, upon which the stone lantern, of enormous weight, is supported. This was

The
interior
and outer
Dome.

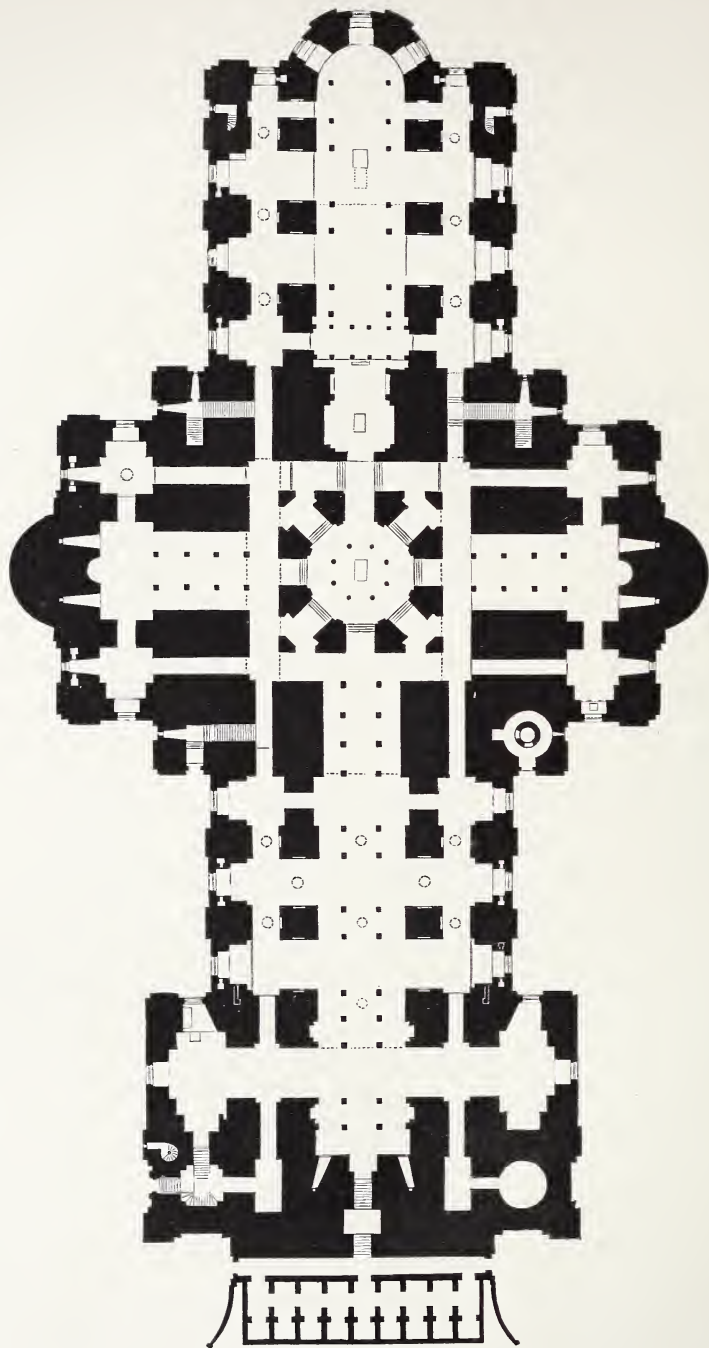
CHAP. truly the thought of a master.' The attendant defects
 XII. are pointed out in the next chapter.



SECTION SHOWING INNER AND OUTER DOMES, WITH THE CONICAL WALL.

The Iron
Chain.

Between the inner and outer Dome are stairs which ascend to the Lantern. With the object of giving additional strength to the walls supporting the Dome, Wren inserted a strong iron chain in a channel in the stone. The author of the 'Parentalia' says, 'Altho' the Dome wants no Butment, yet, for greater Caution, it is hooped with Iron in this manner. A channel is cut in the Bandage of Portland Stone, in which is laid a double chain of Iron, weighing 95 cwt. 3 qrs. and 23 lbs., strongly linked together at every ten feet, and the

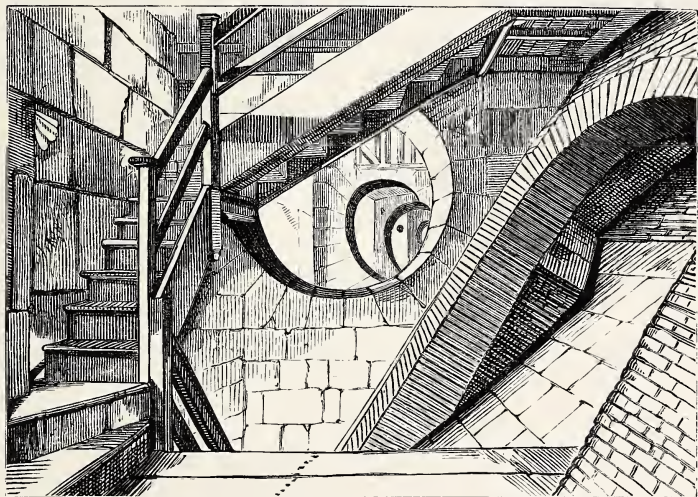


GROUND PLAN OF CRYPT OF ST. PAUL'S.

(From an original drawing by Mr. Penrose, Surveyor to St. Paul's.)

whole Channel filled up with Lead.'¹ The using of this chain, as Mr. Gwilt says, has been objected to, as breaking through one of Sir Christopher's own maxims, namely, that such 'a way of tying walls together, instead of making them of that substance and form that they shall, naturally, poise themselves upon their own abutments, is against the rules of

CHAP.
XII.



STAIRS, AS THEY FORMERLY EXISTED, LEADING UP TO THE LANTERN, BETWEEN THE INNER AND OUTER DOMES.

(From an original drawing in the 'Gardner Collection.')

good architecture.' Mr. Gwilt adds, however, that in this case superfluous caution may be pardoned, but, at the same time, he doubts whether the great weight of the chain does not render the thrust of the cupola more directly perpendicular than it otherwise would be.

The only other point relative to the construction of St. Paul's demanding consideration is the Crypt, on which, The Crypt. of course, the whole building rests.² 'To the architect

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 292.

² See annexed Ground Plan of Crypt.

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XII.

The Crypt.

who builds for posterity,' says Mr. Gwilt, 'its plan, compared with that of the superstructure, is peculiarly instructive and interesting. The large portion of solid allotted to the *piliers* of the dome, and the abutmental adjuncts thereto for guarding against horizontal failure, are not only remarkable but useful examples for the study of the scientific artist. Commencing with the foundation in the vaults (or crypt), the cupola may be described as rising from a square basement of 190 feet, of which the solid parts are more than equal to the vacant spaces, and their thickness upwards of 20 feet.'¹

¹ *Edifices of London*, vol. i. p. 33.

CHAPTER XIII.

CRITICISMS ON ST. PAUL'S.

CHAPTER XIII.

IN the last chapter I endeavoured to describe St. Paul's. I now propose to give an account of the opinions which have been expressed as to its merits and its defects.

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XIII.

In treating this difficult subject I shall contrast the opinions of those who fail fully to appreciate St. Paul's with those of others who do it greater justice, and I shall not shrink from pointing out those parts of the building which have been subjected to what may fairly be considered judicious criticism.

I begin, naturally, with the exterior. This, as Mr. Fergusson says, 'surpasses in beauty all the other examples of the same class which have yet been carried out; and, whether seen from a distance or near, it is, externally at least, one of the grandest and most beautiful Churches of Europe.'¹ It is not a little surprising to contrast with this the opinion expressed by Strype in his edition of Stow's 'Survey of London.'² He says, 'This Cathedral is undoubtedly one of the most magnificent modern buildings in Europe . . . but still, with all these beauties, it has yet more defects.' He then points out these blemishes, but it is not probable that the particular objections he raises will meet with assent at the present time. He says, 'However odd or new the first of these propositions may seem, let anybody take a view of St. Paul's from any of the neighbouring hills, and

The exterior.
Mr. Fergusson's opinion.

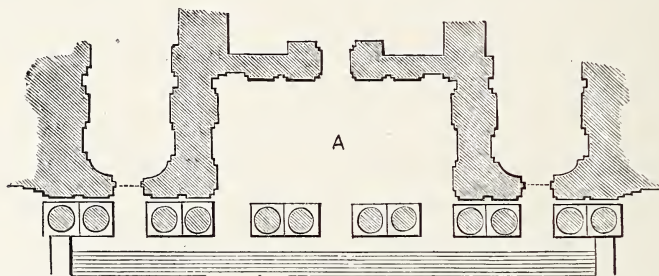
Strype's criticism.

¹ *Modern Architecture*, p. 274. ² (Strype's edition) vol. i. page 664.

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Strype's
Criticism
on the
Dome.

he will instantly discern that the building is defective, and that the form of a Cross is more favourable to superstition than to beauty; he will easily see, at least, that the Dome, in its present circumstance, is abundantly too big for the rest of the Pile, and that the West end has no rational pretence to finer or more splendid decorations than the East.' In his opinion, there should have been 'two corresponding steeples at the East,' the 'Dome should have been laid exactly in the centre of the whole,' and 'the Portico should have been further projected on the eye.' Strype probably knew but little of Byzantine architecture, but



GROUND PLAN OF PRONAOS, SHOWING RECESS FOR THE GREAT DOORS
UNDER WESTERN PORTICO.

yet he seems to have had in his mind a Byzantine cupola, which is much lower than a Dome like that of St. Paul's, but which is everything in the design, being itself, practically, not a part of the Church but the whole.

The
Portico.

With reference to the projection of the Portico, Mr. Gwilt agrees with Strype. He says, 'The projection of the Porticoes from the general face of the front is about one diameter and three quarters, a circumstance that deprives them of the commanding effect which a Portico should always possess—witness that of the parish church of St. Martin's in the Fields. Sir Christopher

seems to have been aware of the defect, and to have attempted a remedy for it by recessing the pronaos behind the three central intercolumniations, in order to produce a depth of shadow. But, as Evelyn would have said, its object is nevertheless meagre.'

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The West Front is that which first presents itself to the eye when the Cathedral is approached by the only way from which a tolerably satisfactory view can be obtained of the building; and when the obstructing wall, and the railing built up against Wren's wishes, are removed, it cannot be doubted that the view then presented will be vastly improved. The West Front commands almost universal admiration. As stated by Mr. Fergusson,¹ 'Its dimensions, the beauty of its details, the happy outline of the campaniles, the proportion of these to the façade and of all the parts one to another, make up the most pleasing design of its class that has yet been executed.' This description, however valuable as the criticism of an accomplished writer, nevertheless does but scant justice to the beauty of the perspective view obtained on approaching the Cathedral by Ludgate Hill. The campaniles stand out like Alpine aiguilles, and it requires no great stretch of the imagination—at least in a President of the Alpine Club—while gazing on the Dome of St. Paul's to call up and contrast with it that of Mont Blanc; but in the Alpine scene there are no aiguilles so picturesquely placed as to form outposts of the majestic mass in the background.

Beauty of
the West
Front.

Mr. Wightwick characterises the Dome as 'indeed the very crown of England's architectural glory.' He then goes on to say:—'The four projections which fill

The Dome.

¹ *Modern Architecture*, p. 273.

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—, —

out the angles formed by the intersecting lines of the cross finely buttress up the mountain of masonry above; and the beautiful semicircular porticoes of the transepts still further carry out the sentiment of stability. As to the Dome itself, it stands supreme on earth. The simple stylobate of its tambour; its uninterrupted peristyle, charmingly varied by occasionally solid intervening masonry, so artfully masking the buttress work as to combine at once an appearance of elegant lightness with the visible means of confident security; all these, with each subsequently ascending feature of the composition, leave us to wonder how criticism can have ever spoken in qualified terms of Wren's artistic proficiency.'

Objections
to West
Front.

Fault has been found with this magnificent West Front, on the ground that its external form has no connexion with, or relation to, the internal structure. It is remarked by Mr. Fergusson,¹ that there is no 'suggestion externally of two stories, or two aisles of different heights;' but this statement seems hardly consistent with the facts, inasmuch as there are two stories of columns forming the western portico, and these correspond exactly with the two external stories of the rest of the building. Strype's objection² is of an exactly opposite nature. He says, 'In the next place, the dividing the Portico, and indeed the whole structure, into two stories on the outside, certainly indicates a like division within'

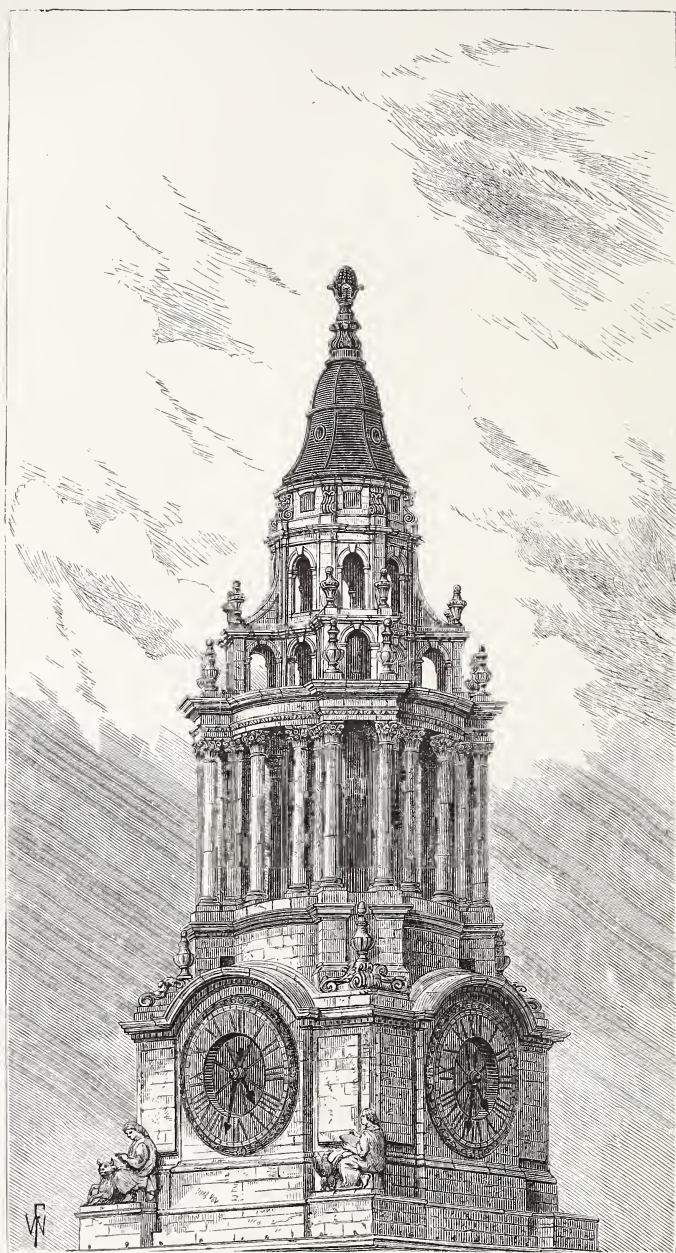
Western
Front,

Mr. Wightwick³ says that 'the Western front must

¹ *Modern Architecture*, p. 273.

² Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 664.

³ Papers read at the Royal Institute of British Architects, Session 1858-59 (pp. 119-128), on the Architecture and Genius of Sir Christopher Wren, by G. Wightwick, architect. Mr. Wightwick's general remarks



ONE OF THE CAMPANILES OF ST. PAUL'S.

be criticised as illustrating, in great measure, a Gothic idea Romanised. Instead of twin spires (as at Lichfield), we have two pyramidal piles of Italian detail; instead of the high pointed gable between, we have the classic pediment, as lofty as may be; the coupled columns and pilasters answer to the Gothic buttresses; and a minute richness and number of parts, with picturesque breaks in the entablatures (although against the architect's expressed principles) are introduced in compliance with the general aspect and vertical expression of the Gothic façade.'

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a Gothic
idea.
Roman-
ised.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the Western Front does not exactly face Ludgate Hill; but, as already remarked, a perspective view is thereby obtained on approaching the Cathedral. It was Wren's wish that it should face Ludgate Hill; but this was not practicable without taking down a great number of houses, which had been built up with eager haste as soon as the proprietors of the ground received the sanction of Parliament for so doing. The Commissioners for rebuilding the City had marked and staked out all the streets before anything had been determined about the new Cathedral.¹

Does not
exactly
face
Ludgate
Hill

The adoption of two orders of architecture, viz. the Corinthian below and Composite above, standing one above the other, attached to a perpendicular wall, has also been greatly objected to, and is styled by Mr. Fergusson 'the great defect of the lower part of the design, that is of the nave, choir, and transepts.' He says that there would have been no objection to this part, had Wren, while adopting the general ground-plan of a Gothic cathedral, frankly adopted the

Two orders
of architec-
ture on a
perpendi-
cular wall.

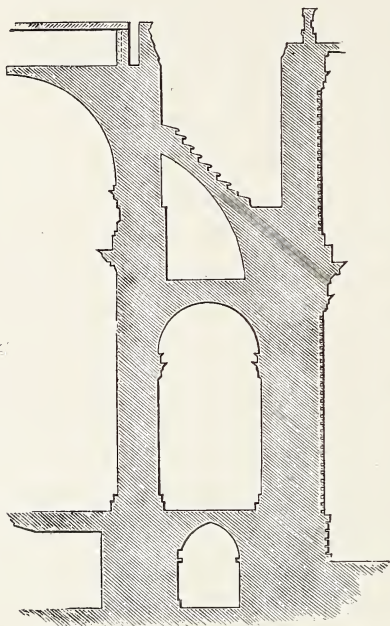
on the genius of Wren and on St. Paul's generally are so valuable and interesting, that I have added them at the end of this chapter.

¹ *Parentalia*, . 287.

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Clerestory
and side
aisles
required.

mediæval arrangement of a clerestory and side aisles The projection of the aisle beyond the line of the upper story would, he says, have been an obvious reason for the adoption of two orders; and he suggests that were the interval between the propylæa and the transept now filled up by a side aisle, apparently the whole would be reduced to harmony, the windows in the pedestals of the upper niches



SECTION SHOWING BUTTRESSES.

would be hidden, and by giving greater simplicity and breadth to the lower story the whole would obtain that repose which is now somewhat deficient. Wren, however, did construct a side aisle, with buttresses, as will be seen by the annexed illustration, although he thought proper to mask it by a screen wall.

Mr. Gwilt seems at different times of his life to have

taken opposite views of the screen wall, which Wren erected to mask the buttresses. He said,¹ when writing as a young man, and referring to the illustration (of which a copy is here annexed), 'By this print it will be seen how ingeniously Sir Christopher Wren has masked the flying buttresses, which (springing from the outer walls) resist the thrust of the main vaulting, by a screen wall which extends the whole length of the north and south sides, and, exteriorly, forms the upper order of the building.' Later in life, in his 'Encyclopædia of Architecture,'² he expresses quite a contrary opinion.

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The Screen
Wall :
Mr. Gwilt's
first
opinion.

'We must here mention one of the most unpardonable defects, or rather abuses, which this church exhibits, and which must be learnt from reference to the annexed figure. Therein is given a transverse section of the nave and its side aisles. From this it will be seen that the enormous expense of the second or upper order all round the church was incurred for no other purpose than that of concealing the flying buttresses that are used to counteract the thrusts of the vaults of the nave, choir, and transepts,—an abuse that admits of no apology. It is an architectural fraud. We do not think it necessary to descend into minor defects and abuses, such as vaulting the church from an Attic order, the multiplicity of breaks, and want of repose, the general disappearance of tie and connection, the piercing, as practised, the piers of the cupola, and mitering the archivolts of its great arches, and the like, because we think all these are more than counterbalanced by the beauties of the edifice. We cannot, however, leave the subject without observing, that not the least of its merits is its freedom from any material

The Screen
Wall :
Mr. Gwilt's
second
opinion.

¹ *Edifices of London* (published in 1825).

² First published in 1842.

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The Screen
Wall.

settlement tending to bring on premature dilapidation. Its chief failures are over the easternmost arch of the nave, and in the north transept, for the remedy whereof (the latter) the architect left written instructions. There are also some unimportant failures in the haunches of most of the flying buttresses, which are scarcely worth notice.'

Mr. Wight-
wick's
opinion.

Mr. Wightwick, to whose paper I have already referred, defends the Screen Wall. He says that 'the grand building must be judged' with the consideration that it was, as already stated, a work of conciliation. 'This it is,' he says, 'which excuses the application of the upper order as a mere screen to conceal the clerestory and flying buttresses; for it must be admitted that uninterrupted altitude of the bulk, in the same plane, is absolutely necessary to the substructure of the majestic Dome.

Wren's
original
intention
was one
order with
an Attic.

It was originally Wren's intention¹ to have imitated St. Peter's at Rome in having one order with an Attic story. This is shown in all his first designs, and in particular by the Kensington model. The reason given for his abandonment of this plan is that he found a difficulty in getting a sufficient quantity of stone of the right dimensions for his columns. He had decided that Portland stone was the best for his purpose, and even after he had resolved to limit himself to the four feet diameter, he found that it was difficult to procure stone enough that would cut into that dimension. With any larger diameter than this he considered that he could not have kept 'the just proportions of his Cornices, or must have fallen short of the height of the Fabrick.'²

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 287.

² *Ibid.* p. 288.

Other objections to the exterior were made soon after the Cathedral was finished. One was the doubling of all the pilasters of the outside, for which the reason given by Wren's grandson¹ is that 'they are of the same use as buttresses, allow of a larger size for the windows, and are necessary for the good regularity of the arcades within.'

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The
Doubling
of the
Pilasters.

The doubling of the columns of the West Portico was objected to, and Mr. Gwilt also condemns it. He says, 'Notwithstanding all the arguments that have been adduced in favour of the coupled columns, their use here is indefensible.'² Wren defends himself by saying that in their greater works the ancients often did double their columns in order to make wider openings, and that 'in the Portico of St. Paul's two columns are brought nearer together, to make greater inter-columns alternately, and to give a proper space for three doors.'³ He adds that 'where there are three doors (the two side doors for daily use, and the middle one for solemnities), the columns are widened, to make a more open and commodious access to each.' He defends this also on the ground of the graceful appearance produced by making the exterior pillars alternately Eustyle—that is, with a space between the columns equal to $2\frac{1}{4}$ diameters of the lower part of the shaft—and Pycnostyle, in which the space is equal to only $1\frac{1}{2}$ diameter.⁴

Doubling
of pilasters
and of
columns of
West
Portico.

Wren's
defence.

These objections exhaust, apparently, all that could be said against the exterior of the Cathedral; and I shall

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 288.

² *Edifices of London*, vol. i. p. 13.

³ *Parentalia*, p. 289.

⁴ The great success of Claude Perrault's Eastern front of the Louvre, designed with coupled columns, could scarcely have been without influence in guiding Wren's judgment in this matter.

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Wren's
defence of
incor-
porating
lesser with
greater
pilasters.

now take up those made against the interior, beginning with one which, to some extent, concerns both.

Wren defends his grandfather from an objection to which, apparently, he thought he had laid himself open.¹ He says, 'he seems to have varied from the ancients in that he has incorporated lesser pilasters with the greater, and that of the same Corinthian order;' and admits that in the ancient buildings, the imposts upon which the arches rested had a capital of a different order from that of the pillar, as may 'be seen in the triumphal arches and theatres which remain.' But he says they were careful that this capital should not project beyond the great pillar or pilaster; and that this could easily be done on the outside of buildings, where there was room enough to advance the pilaster till it could receive the impost mouldings to lie against the side of the pilaster, but that in the inside of St. Paul's it would have straightened the great nave, and made the breaks of the cornice above too heavy. He then says, 'If any man thinks it improper to incorporate great and small pillars together, as is done in the aisles at St. Paul's, let him consider the Basilica of the Colonna Julia, at Fanum, which is the only piece Vitruvius owns himself to be the author of; he will easily perceive that there must be small pillars incorporated into the great, to bear the Galleries, and he will find that the whole Frize is taken up by Vitruvius to give light.'² 'The Surveyor,' he adds, 'chose to make the little pilasters in the aisles of the same order with the great, because the opposite wall is beautified with the same smaller order, so the aisle of the whole length of the

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 290.

² *Ibid.*

Church is of itself a long and graceful portico without being interrupted by the legs of the Dome.'

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Another contemporary objection was that 'the Architrave (A, A) within was cut off by the Arch.' This was defended by Wren on the ground that the architectural origin of the portico was a structure of wood, and that,

Architrave
within cut
off by Arch.



PIER ARCHES OF THE NAVE, SHOWING THE ARCHIVOLTS, RISING ABOVE THE ARCHITRAVES.

if a wooden portico of three aisles be supposed, the architraves must join the pillars of the aisles, and not be in range with the inner pillars, but cross to that line, so that nothing but the ends of the architraves will appear upon the pillars of the nave.

Mr. Fergusson makes various objections to the interior.¹

Objections
to interior.

¹ *Modern Architecture*, p. 269, &c.

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Great
arches
supporting
central
dome,
should
have been
four, and
not eight.

He says that the great arches supporting the central dome are not so well managed as in the first design. 'The intermediate arches lead nowhere, and the archivolts of all the eight being carried to the same height, the alternate arches are filled up by a series of constructive expedients, destructive of architectural effect.' Artistically—thus differing entirely from Mr. Gwilt's opinion expressed in the last chapter—he considers that it was a great mistake to rest the dome on eight, instead of four arches, because they must necessarily be too narrow. He considers that for a dome exceeding 100 feet in width, eight equal arches of forty feet diameter—even if such had been possible—would have been too small, and that 'four great arches of sixty feet each would have been far nobler and better proportioned.' With eight arches, he says, the naves to which they lead must always appear narrow and disproportioned, and the vista along the aisles is spoilt, because the eye, looking along them, never reaches beyond the great void of the Dome, and does not perceive that the little passage seen beyond is in fact a continuation of the aisle.

Suggested
remedy.

Mr. Fergusson says¹ that 'Wren's own suggestion for getting over the awkwardness he felt he had introduced here was to place seated statues of the four Evangelists in the upper loggie, and with wooden curtains supported by cherubs to hide the cheeks of his opening. In addition to this, he proposed to place two figures of angels resting on each of the segmental cornices, like the Night and Morning in Michael Angelo's tomb of the Medici.' Mr. Fergusson suggests, however, a plan which he considers better, and which he says might be carried out now. This is, 'to mask

¹ Page 269, on the extremely doubtful authority of Gwyn's print.

the sides of the opening by real curtains, and to use the segmental cornices to support a balcony, which would give relief and meaning to the whole design.'

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Mr. Fergusson then proceeds to point out what he considers to be the defects of the nave and the choir. He says, 'As at St. Peter's, the pier arches are too few to give perspective effect; the architrave and frieze of the order are cut away to give them the required height, and the vaulting is singularly confused and inartistic, consisting of a series of small flat domes, twenty-six feet in diameter, each surrounded by a very heavy wreath of mouldings, which the little string of ornament along the arris of the supporting vaults seems painfully inadequate to support.' He says that many of these defects might be partly remedied by judicious painting, but that the great and almost insuperable difficulty is to adapt Classical details to Gothic forms. It is remarkable that some of these are the very points defended by Wren's grandson. The latter defends the leaving out some members of an order by citing the practice of the ancients, who used, in the inside of Porticoes, to leave out the Frieze and Cornice.¹ With regard to the objection to the 'small flat domes,' he says, first, that the Cathedral being of necessity a three-aisled fabric must be vaulted, and next that the Surveyor followed the occasional example of the Romans in using hemispherical vaultings, as being lighter. He then goes on to say, 'So the whole vault of St. Paul's consists of twenty-four Cupolas, cut off semicircular with Segments to join to the great Arches one way, and which are cut across the other way with elliptical Cylinders to let in the upper lights of the nave, but in the aisles the lesser Cupolas are both ways cut in semi-

Defects of
nave and
choir.

Wren's
defence.

Wren's ex-
planation
of the
interior
construc-
tion.

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 290.

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circular sections, and altogether make a graceful geometrical form,¹ which is the horizontal section of the Cupola.'

Intro-
duction of
painting.

It is well worthy of mention here, in discussing this part of the building, that Wren's grandson evidently contemplated the possibility of the introduction of painting, for he speaks of the spandrels, having large planes between the stone ribs, as capable of further ornaments of painting if required. He then further remarks, in reference to the interior of the building:— 'Besides these twenty-four Cupolas, there is a half Cupola at the East, and the Great Cupola of 108 feet diameter, in the middle of the crossing of the Great Aisles. In this the Surveyor has imitated the Pantheon in Rome, excepting only that the upper order is there but umbratile, not extant as at St. Paul's, out of the wall, but only distinguished by different coloured marbles.'

Relative
propor-
tions of
St. Peter's
and
St. Paul's.

With reference to the proportions of St. Paul's he remarks as follows:— 'The Pantheon is no higher within than its diameter; St. Peter's is two diameters; this shows too high, the other too low: the Surveyor at St. Paul's took a mean proportion, which shows its concave every way, and is very lightsome by the Windows of the upper Order, which strike down the light through the great Colonnade that encircles the Dome without. . . . The Concave was turned upon a Centre, which was judged necessary to keep the Work even and true, tho' a Cupola might be built without a centre; but this is observable, that the Centre was laid without any Standards from below to support it; and as it was both Centering and Scaffolding, it remained for the use of the Painter. Every storey of this scaffold-

Wren's ex-
planation
of the con-
struction
of the
Cupola.

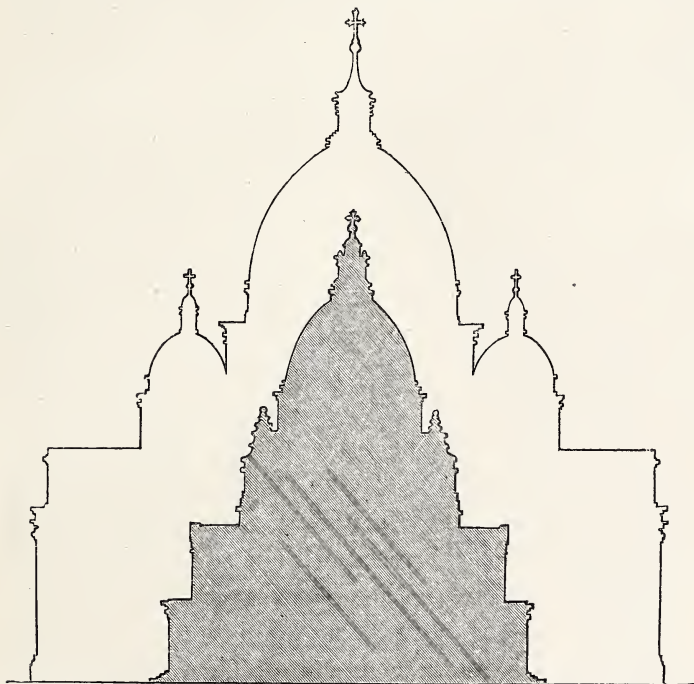
¹ *Parentalia*, p. 290,

ing being Circular, and the ends of all the Ledgers meeting as so many rings, it supported itself.'¹

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Many persons entering the Cathedral suppose that the Dome over their heads is the actual lining of the external Dome. They are not aware that it is a shell, of a different form from the outer structure, with a brick cone between it and the outer skin—

The Dome
only a
shell.



COMPARATIVE SIZES OF ST. PETER'S (OUTLINE) AND ST. PAUL'S (SHADED).

so to speak; that this brick cone is supported by the main walls and great arches of the Cathedral, and that the brick cone supports the outer structure, the lantern, the upper Cupola, and the gilt cross and ball; or that again between the brick cone and

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 291.

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the outer skin is a curious network of wooden beams supporting the latter.

The inner Dome is built of brick, 'of two bricks thick, but as it rises every five feet high, has a Course of excellent brick of eighteen inches long, banding through the whole thickness.' Wren seems rather to complain that his grandfather was compelled by public opinion to raise the outer Dome to a greater height than the inner cupola, and consequently to devise some expedient for its support. He says, 'It was necessary to give a greater height than the Cupola would gracefully allow within, though it is considerably above the roof of the Church; yet the old Church having had before a very lofty spire of Timber and Lead, the World expected that the new work should not in this respect fall short of the old (tho' that was but a spit, and this a mountain). He was therefore obliged to comply with the Humour of the Age, and to raise another structure over the first Cupola, and this was a Cone of brick, so built as to support a Stone Lantern of an elegant figure, and ending in Ornaments of Copper gilt.' He then says, 'As the whole Church above the Vaults is Covered with a substantial oaken Roof and Lead (for no other covering is so durable in our Climate), so he covered and hid out of sight the Brick Cone with another cupola of Timber and Lead, and between this and the Cone are easy stairs that ascend to the Lantern.'¹

The
interior a
brick cone.

Mr. Gwilt's
objections.

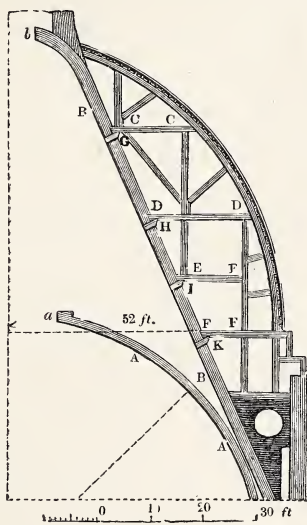
Mr. Gwilt, whose admiration of the double Dome has already been stated, says, 'But however admirable the science which directed the use of the expedient, it has induced two defects which are scarcely pardonable. The first of these is, that the exterior Dome, which consists of a system of timber framing of king posts,

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 291.

supporting hammer beams, the ends of which tail on to corbels worked into the cone, must necessarily decay within a comparatively short period, should even the carelessness of plumbers spare it. The other defect is the immense waste of section which it has caused, and the consequent great loss of interior effect sustained. The carpentry is elegant, but misapplied, where a stone dome should have been employed.'¹

The method in which the external dome of St. Paul's is framed is described in Mr. Gwilt's 'Encyclopædia of Architecture.' He says, 'The internal dome *aa* is of

brickwork two bricks thick, having, at every five feet, as it rises, a course consisting of bricks eighteen inches long, which serves to bind the whole thickness together. This dome was turned upon a centre, which rested upon the projection at its springing, without any support from below, and was afterwards left for the use of the painter. It was banded together with iron at the



springing. Exterior to the brick dome (which has, indeed, nothing immediately to do with the subject) is a cone of brickwork *BBb*, 1 foot 6 inches in thickness, plastered and painted, part whereof is seen from the pavement under the cupola through the opening *a*. On this cone *BBb* is supported the timber work which carries the external dome, whose hammer beams *CC*, *DD*, *EE*, *FF* are tied into the corbels *G*, *H*,

¹ *Edifices of London*, vol. i. pp. 22, 28.

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I, K with iron cramps, which are well bedded into the corbels with lead, and bolted to the hammer beams. The stairs which lead to the Golden Gallery on the top of the dome are carried between the trusses of the roof. The dome is boarded from the base upwards, hence the ribs are fixed horizontally at near distances to each other. The scantling of the curve rib of the truss is 10 in. by $11\frac{1}{2}$ at the bottom, and 6 in. by 6 at the top. The sides of the dome are segments of circles, whose centres are not marked in the figure, and which, if continued, would meet at top, and form a pointed arch. Above the dome rises a lantern of Portland stone, about 21 feet in diameter, and 64 feet high, standing on the cone. The whole of this construction is manifest from the figure, which exhibits the inner and outer domes with the cone between them. The combination is altogether an admirable example of the mathematical skill and judgment of Sir C. Wren.'

Mr.
Fergus-
son's criti-
cisms on
the Dome.

Mr. Fergusson considers that the introduction of a cone to carry the lantern was a master-stroke of mechanical skill, but that artistic effect was thereby sacrificed. The defect to which he objects is, apparently, a want of proper proportion between the dome and the building, and in the dome itself. He thinks it too high for its width, and unnecessarily dark. The cupola, as it should be called to distinguish it from the outer dome, springs from a series of pilasters over a band above the Whispering Gallery. This gallery is exactly 100 feet from the floor; above it is a plain band of 20 feet high, on which stand thirty-two Corinthian pilasters. In Mr. Fergusson's opinion, 'the remedy for this was easy. It would have been to let the dome spring from the string course above the

Whispering Gallery, and light it at the base. Had this been done then—or were it done now—the construction of the whole would have been far easier and lighter, the proportion of height to width far more agreeable, and the proportions of the dome far more in harmony with the rest of the building.’ He then expresses an opinion that Wren ‘was evidently haunted with the idea that the whole of the external Dome, or at least as great a part of it as he could scoop out, ought—as at St. Peter’s and the Cathedral of Florence—to have been included in the church.’¹ It seems to me rather that Wren was haunted with the idea that the external dome should be very lofty, and did his best to construct a cupola of proper dimensions. Mr. Fergusson suggests that the cupola would have been better had it been constructed ‘with an opening of half its width, as is done in the Invalides at Paris.’

With regard to the mode of lighting the interior of the Cupola, the author of the *Parentalia* says, ‘He took no care to make little luthern Windows in the leaden Cupola, as are done out of St. Peter’s, because he had otherwise provided for light enough to the stairs from the Lantern above, and round the Pedestal of the same, which are not seen below; so that he only ribbed the outward Cupola, which he thought less Gothick than to stick it full of such little lights in three stories, one above the other (as is executed in the Cupola of St. Peter’s at Rome), which could not without difficulty be mended, and if neglected would soon damage the Timbers.’

The colonnade surrounding the Dome externally has a very fine effect. Mr. Fergusson says, ‘It is quite unsurpassed. By blocking up every fourth intercolumnia-

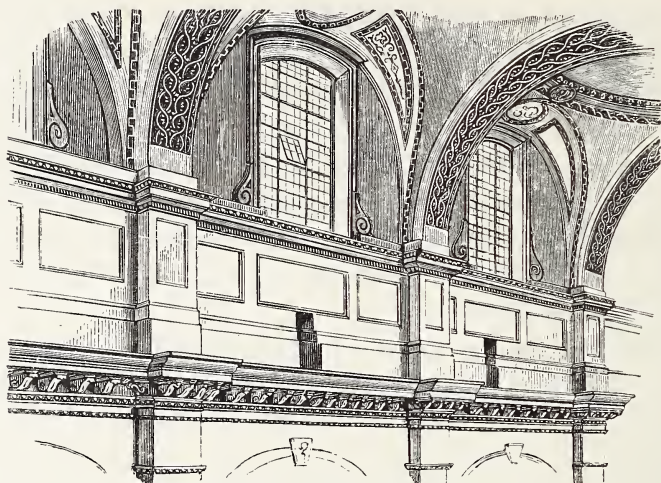
Lighting
the Dome.

Colonnade
surround-
ing the
Dome

¹ *Modern Architecture*, p. 272.

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tion, not only is a great appearance of strength given, but a depth of shadow between, which gives it a richness and variety combined with simplicity of outline fulfilling every requisite of good architecture, and rendering this part of the design immensely superior to its rivals. Owing also to the re-entering angles at the junction of the nave and transepts coming so close to it, you see what it stands upon, and can follow its



CLERESTORY WINDOWS ABOVE THE ATTIC ORDER.

whole outline from the ground to the cross without any tax on the imagination.¹

The last objection deserving notice is that of Mr. Gwilt, with reference to the introduction of a clerestory over the Attic order. He says, 'It may not be inexpedient to advert to an abuse, which occurs in the design just described, viz. that of turning an arch from an Attic order. An arch, which is nothing more than a substitute for a lintel, can with propriety only spring from a shaft by the interposition of an abacus.

The Attic
order.

¹ *Modern Architecture*, p. 273.

In the triumphal arches the archivolt can only be considered as a bent architrave instead of a straight one, and the revivers of the art in Italy ventured generally no further than allowing it to spring from the entablature of an order, as in St. Peter's, for instance. There may be some excuse for this practice, inasmuch as the architraves may be viewed as connecting in that case

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Arch
turned
from Atti
order.

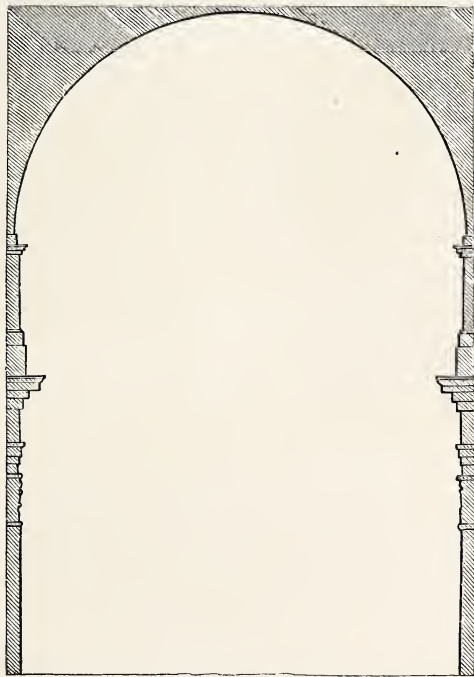


DIAGRAM OF THE ARCH, TURNED FROM AN ATTIC ORDER.

the inner and the outer walls only, and the great vault may be considered as the substitute of a wooden roof, which in St. Peter's is in truth the case; its timber tiled roof, which is open at the sides, being nothing more than an umbrella resting on the vault to protect it from the weather. But in St. Paul's an Attic (always a crowning order) is used as an abutment, to all

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appearance incapable of resisting the pressure, or even supporting the weight of the vaulting.'¹

It is difficult, however, to see how in St. Paul's sufficient light could have been obtained for the interior without these clerestory windows. Perhaps Mr. Gwilt's criticism is intended to apply to the Attic only, and not to the Clerestory.

Con-
clusion.

The preceding opinions and criticisms by no means exhaust the great subject of the extraordinary merits and few defects of Wren's grand building. I believe, however, that the principal points of dispute, the great beauties of the various parts of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the marvellous skill of the Architect, have been duly indicated; and I hope that, by this means, amateurs, at any rate, may be induced to examine, and enabled to understand and appreciate the various details of this sublime structure.

¹ *Edifices of London*, vol. i. p. 10.

MR. WIGHTWICK'S REMARKS ON WREN'S SECOND
DESIGN (THE KENSINGTON MODEL) AND ON THE
PRESENT CATHEDRAL.

From a Paper on the 'Architecture and Genius of Sir Christopher Wren.'
Read at the Royal Institute of British Architects, May 30, 1859.

In contemplating the floor plan of the rejected model of St. Paul's, we immediately see how its author has set at nought the influence of familiar custom as a cause of beauty. We have a general outline and internal disposition of parts perfectly original. Instead of the ordinary rectangular combination, we have the square, the curved, the polygonal, the concave, the convex, the recessed, the salient; affording the most varied play of full light and half light, sharp in contrast with shadow and shade, or softly gradational the one into the other; while the outline of the plan includes, within its full bodied expanse, the cross as the skeleton form, whose dome-crowned centre is the 'heart of the mystery.'

In the existing Cathedral we see the old Gothic model Romanised, with a dome *vice* a central tower, and, instead of flying buttresses openly exhibited, a decorated screen, looking like an upper story, concealing them; but in the model we have a design not less original than magnificent, with artistic feeling far exceeding what is displayed in any single building of ancient or modern times. The refined *pictorial*, of bulk and varied form, here presents itself in lieu of the Gothic *picturesque*, of attenuated length and transepta interruption.

And now leaving the outline, let us contemplate the floor plan. Let the reader especially imagine the first long and narrow perspective from the West door; the

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forthright and divergent views, on his passing the arch next beyond the vestibule; the view on just entering beneath the great cupola; that from the centre of the same; and that from beneath one of the diagonal cupolettas. All this justly considered, he may so conceive of the magical effects realised as to see, 'with his mind's eye,' how comparatively commonplace are the effects produced in the existing Cathedral. Well may we believe that its designer wept at the rejection of his model; and well might we weep that it was rejected!

In the model the portion for the choir is of a form much more adapted to the purposes of Protestant worship than in the building, and of a capacity equivalent to what Wren pronounced the maximum size for an auditorium, in which all the sitters may distinctly see and hear the preacher; *i. e.* it is equal to a room of 80 feet long and 50 feet broad, exclusive of the space required for the organ and the communion recess. Wren was the last man in the world to design a building without a full regard to its use. He rightly felt, however, that a cathedral is not a mere thing of practical utility; but that it should be the offering of art's best to the Giver of artist genius.

Having commented on Wren's own, we have now to examine St. Paul's Cathedral as it exists; a building whose beauties are equally his own, and whose defects (mainly occasioned by interference) still leave it unequalled, as a model, by any structure in existence. In its general external mass it exhibits a wondrous combination of majesty and elegance; the expression of amplitude in the cupola of its interior is without equal; and if the architect's doings had found co-operation in the sculptor and painter, the London

St. Paul's would have yielded to the Roman St. Peter's only in size.

Under the determined predilection of Wren's dictators for the old cathedral plan, his 'genius was rebuked;' and all he could do was to modify the prescribed form, so as to reconcile, as far as possible, a new body to an old habit. Even in this he was still beset by meddlers; and it was by command of the popish Duke of York that the North and South chapels, near the Western end, were added, to the reduction of the nave aisles, and the lamentable injury of the return fronts of the two towers, which therefore lost in apparent elevation by becoming commingled with pieces of projecting façade on the North and South sides. Thus were produced the only defects in the longitudinal fronts of the church. The independence of the towers is destroyed, their vertical emphasis obliterated; and a pair of excrescences is the consequence, which it were well to cut away. All that could be done to diminish the evil was accomplished; but no informed eye can view the perspective of the Cathedral from the North-west or South-west, without seeing how no architect, who only admitted a 'variety of uniformities,' could have intentionally formed a distinct component in an exterior of otherwise uniform parts, by a tower having only one wing, and that, too, flush with its face! With this exception, the general mass of the Cathedral is faultless, *i. e.* as the result of a conciliation between the architect's feeling for the Roman style, and his compelled obedience to the shape prescribed. With this consideration the grand building under notice must be judged. This it is which excuses the application of the upper order as a mere screen to conceal the clerestory and flying buttresses; for it must

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be admitted that uninterrupted altitude of the bulk, in the same plane, is absolutely necessary to the substructure of the majestic dome, which is indeed the very crown of England's architectural glory. The four projections which fill out the angles, formed by the intersecting lines of the cross, finely buttress up the mountain of masonry above; and the beautiful semi-circular porticoes of the transepts still further carry out the sentiment of stability.

As to the dome in itself, it stands supreme on earth. The simple stylobate of its tambour; its uninterrupted peristyle, charmingly varied by occasionally solid intervening masonry, so artfully masking the buttress-work as to combine at once an appearance of elegant lightness with the visible means of confident security; all these, with each subsequently ascending feature of the composition, leave us to wonder how criticism can have ever spoken in qualified terms of Wren's artistic proficiency.

The Western front must be criticised as illustrating, in great measure, a Gothic idea Romanised. Instead of twin spires (as at Lichfield) we have two pyramidal piles of Italian detail; instead of the high-pointed gable between, we have the classic pediment, as lofty as may be; the coupled columns and pilasters answer to the Gothic buttresses; and a minute richness and number of parts, with picturesque breaks in the entablatures, (though against the architect's expressed principles), are introduced in compliance with the general aspect and vertical expression of the Gothic façade.

The exception to this is, of course, shown wherever the entablatures continue their unbroken horizontality over insulated columns; as in the great portico of the West front, the porches of the transepts, and the

peristyle of the dome. The architect has, however, well achieved the required compromise between two differing modes of design ; and, as an harmonious amalgamation of the vertical and horizontal, the West front of St. Paul's is not only a success, but a triumph. The lower extended colonnade, and the upper part of the portico, contracted and pedimented, in their combination pyramidize, so as to prevent any feeling of excess either in height or width ; and, whether we regard the towers from base to apex as distinct compositions, or as parts of the entire front, we recognise much beauty as well as ingenuity in the manner of their resolving themselves from a pure Roman beginning into a fanciful termination, not unsatisfactory even to the Gothic steeple-lover. There is, however, one aspect under which the entire building would exhibit a perfection, scarcely yet contemplated, save by an architect : such an aspect would be represented at about 3 P.M. on a fine, clear, and sunny day, if the complete pyramid of the structure, from the outer steps of the transept porticoes to the ball and cross, could be seen in direct front from Temple Bar. At that distance the Western towers, instead of encroaching slightly on the peristyle of the dome, would be detached from it ; the transepts would be in an equal degree, but not injuriously, intruded on ; while the West front would just gain the apparent increase desirable.

The floor plan of the church requires little comment. It exhibits no invention, for invention was forbidden. Excepting the projecting parts in the outer angles of the cross, where the transepts unite with the nave and choir, it has no arrangement not to be found in our old Gothic cathedrals. Even the absence of the four

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great piers, which usually support a central tower, has its Gothic precedent in Ely Cathedral, where a lantern overhangs the great central octagon, just as the cupola in St. Paul's. We have, therefore, only to estimate the manner in which Wren has employed his Roman features and minor details, on a carcass presented to him, as it were, with no material permission of novelty; saving in the application of his circular vault, and lantern, of brick and stone, in lieu of the octagonal vault and lantern, of wood and of smaller dimension, at Ely.

It may be at once admitted that the nave, choir, and aisles, are, under all compulsory circumstances, unimprovable; though strict taste may regret some things those circumstances occasioned. The vaulting, however, over the nave and aisles, formed by flat domes on pendentives, is truly beautiful. The great cupola, in its expression of expanse with elevation, has no equal. That of the Pantheon at Rome gives expanse merely, as it is not higher than it is broad; that of St. Peter's is in height more than twice and one-third its width, and we are therefore rather struck with its altitude than its horizontal capacity; that of St. Paul's is something less in height than twice its width, and, bearing also a much larger proportion to the rest of the building than in St. Peter's, it has much greater apparent size. The proportional altitude of the cupola of Ste. Geneviève, at Paris, is still more than St. Peter's; that of the church of the Invalides something more than St. Paul's. The effect produced by Wren's cupola seems to indicate that its proportions are the best for producing, at the same moment, a sense of amplitude and loftiness combined.

The whispering gallery of St. Paul's, with all above

it, leaves nothing, in the way of architectural form, to be desired; though there are many who think the character of painting adopted most injudicious. Below the gallery, however, criticism rests dissatisfied, if not offended; the four diagonal sides of the octagon, beneath the tambour of the cupola, evincing an aim at more than the artist has successfully accomplished. To obtain an appearance of open lightness, developing the architecture and vaulting of the aisles behind them, these diagonal compartments are woefully cut up, and finished with ingenuity at the cost of judgment. It had been better if these four compartments had simply exhibited repetitions of what is practised in the nave, choir, and transepts, so far at least as was possible. There is no occasion for more than simple reference to defects which have ever been obvious to the critical eye. The confusion of these parts is positively so distressing, that alteration would be justifiable, only taking scrupulous care that it be effected by that 'repetition' of Wren's own to which allusion has just been made. St. Peter's had many architects. The substitution of a better piece of Wren for another, in the same building, would not disturb the oneness of itself or its designer.

The partial, but too apparent, defect just noticed, very probably grew out of the meddling obstinacy that insisted on the old cathedral form; but still it may not have been imperatively occasioned, for in the Cathedral of Ely no corresponding defect appears, and in the great church at Rome we feel no desire for other than the solidity of the four diagonal piers under the dome. In St. Paul's, however, as at Ely, there was space for diagonal openings answering to those of the nave, &c., and so far it was advantaged beyond St. Peter's; for

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unquestionably, the means afforded by such openings for the uninterrupted perspective of the aisles from end to end of the entire interior are valuable.

If the architecture of Wren, as illustrated by St. Paul's, be judged with generous allowance for compulsory restriction, the result can be nothing less than deferential admiration.

And now a few words on the thoughtless cavils that have been raised on the subject of the double dome (we might as well say the triple dome) of St. Paul's.

The dome of the Pantheon at Rome, having nothing but itself to support, is a simple vault of masonry, so low in proportion, and so immensely buttressed, as to be prepared for an earthquake.

The dome of the Florentine cathedral is so highly pointed as to approximate towards the cone, and it is therefore the more fitted to bear the stone lantern at the top.

The dome of the Baptistery at Pisa is formed of a lofty internal cone, supporting the outer vault or hemispherical covering.

The non-appliance of constructive knowledge in the dome of St. Peter's at Rome was felt before it was finished. The lantern was made less than originally intended, but still it proved too heavy for the great vault that could hardly find safety for itself alone, and it has only been preserved to our wonder by hoops of iron; the means taken by Wren to secure the safety of Salisbury spire.

Our scientific architect had marked the failure of the Gothic architects in their deficient regard for lateral thrust. He had observed how fearful might be vertical pressure on a domical vault. Whether he was acquainted with the Florentine and Pisan examples we

know not ; but, if not, he had intuitively the knowledge they would have afforded him.

He had to place upon the top of his dome a stone lantern, with its ball and cross measuring some ninety feet in height. He therefore adopted the principle of the Pisan Baptistery. He constructed his inner brick cupola of the form and altitude he considered best for internal effect. Over this he built a cone, just free from pressing on his cupola, and he carried it upward till it met the required width for the base of his lantern ; finishing his cone with a domed top, as at Pisa. This being determined, the attic story of his tambour arose to press down upon the common springing of cupola and cone ; and, not to remedy a defect, but, 'to make assurance double sure,' he applied his hooping chains of iron. To protect the cone a roof was necessary, as that which covers the vaulting of his nave and aisles, and of the same material, *i. e.* wood and lead ; the purpose of protection and endurance being precisely the same in both cases. Apart from what Roman design requires—apart from the majesty of the hemispherical form—is there a man breathing who would cover a circular cell and its cupola-vault with anything but a hemispherical roof, as the best for affording the perpendicular weight of leaded timber upon the buttress of the cone, with means for effectively confining from bulging, either in or out, the masonry of that cone ? The high Gothic dome of Florence is not admissible in pure Roman design ; but a lantern, ponderous as that of Florence, is required. The simple hemispherical dome will not safely support such a lantern. The Pisan mode of construction suggests the mode of security. So much for mere construction.

Now for the matter of taste. Is there any reason

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for such scrupulous honesty as shall shrink at the idea that the beholder may be deceived in thinking that the ceiling he sees within the building is the mere inside of the shell he sees without? May he not separately think of what is beautiful without and within; and contemplate distinctly the perfection of both, with a comfortable conscience as to the filling of the intervening space, especially when he knows that concealed work is necessary to his admiring in safety? If the spectator, amazed at the dignity of bulk and altitude without, gives to the expanse within the credit of equal size and altitude, is it not better than well? Is it not a fair illustration of the *ars est celare artem*? There is surely no need to be argumentative on this absurd question any longer. In every sense, artistic as well as scientific, the dome of St. Paul's (so far as the architect is concerned) is the transcendent example of perfection in its kind. Its cupola is the firmamental beauty of the Cathedral's interior; its dome is the glory of its extern, and the fitting crown of the metropolis of England. It will be time enough to insist upon it that a church dome shall be simply an inverted cup of masonry, when all the remainder of the building shall have no roof but the vaulting which forms its ceiling.

It may be lastly said, that the lead work of St. Paul's dome is eminently beautiful in the form of its ribbed or fluted decoration, and that the lantern, with its iron gallery and gilded finial, has never been regarded but as deserving eulogy.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FUTURE OF ST. PAUL'S.

CHAPTER XIV.

A FEW WORDS on 'the future of St. Paul's' seem a necessary conclusion to the present volume. Until Mr. Burges' plans have been submitted to the Committee, it is obviously impossible to state what will be done towards the 'adornment' of St. Paul's; but it may not be difficult to form an opinion as to the general principles on which it will be carried out.

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Probable
principles
of 'adorn-
ment.'

The first subject requiring consideration is the introduction of colour; and, with reference to the general principles of 'adornment,' the question whether or not colour should be introduced is one which there cannot be much difficulty in answering. That colour (polychromy) is indispensable, is the very foundation of all the efforts which have been made to bring about the 'adornment' of St. Paul's. But, in order to arrive at a correct practical conclusion in this matter, it is necessary to consider the purpose for which colour is required, and the means by which it should be obtained.

Necessity
of colour.

A colourless *flat* surface produces a wearisome feeling of monotony, and even when it is varied in form, the same effect is often produced, though to a less extent. In many parts of a large building an outline is only exceptionally presented to the eye, and in others there is no opportunity for the production of an effect by light and shade. Variety of colour produces the required effect in both alternatives, and its necessity consequently becomes evident.

Reasons
for its
intro-
duction.

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XIV.Means of
giving
colour.Trans-
mitted
light.

Painting.

Gilding.

Marble,
mosaic,
and ma-
jolica.

How colour should be given is the next point. It can be given by transmitted light ; by external application in the shape of painting or gilding ; and by material. Transmitted light is obviously an important means of giving colour, but can be of only limited application, and, as it has already been considered in a previous chapter, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it here. Painting, in the form of pictures on walls, according to our modern experience, is, at least in the present instance, unsuited to our climate. Even as an imitation of marble, notwithstanding Sir Christopher Wren's use of paint for this purpose, his example would now find but few followers ; and the only way in which paint can be applied to stone seems to be as a coloured wash, in certain positions, where any other mode of obtaining the effect of colour is difficult.

Gilding in certain parts of the building is obviously indispensable ; but, from the foregoing considerations, it seems to follow, that, in our climate, colour must, with some small exceptions, be given mainly by material. Here again the question for consideration does not appear difficult to answer, for the only possible coloured materials are marble, mosaic work, and majolica, and of these some are suited to one condition, and others to another. That the use of mosaic is essential can hardly be a matter of dispute, for the application of marble to concave surfaces is by no means easy, and probably would be comparatively ineffective at any considerable height from the eye. It seems clear, therefore, that the Dome, and the Cupolas of the side aisles, to say nothing of other parts, should be treated in mosaic.

Whether the form of marble incrustation intro-

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XIV.Baron de
Triqueti's
incrus-
tation.

duced by Baron de Triqueti, which seems admirably adapted to flat and even to curved surfaces under certain circumstances, would be suited to St. Paul's Cathedral, is a question for the architect; but it can hardly be doubted that it deserves his consideration.

Marble
recom-
mended.

The other mode of producing colour by material, namely by marble, has now to be considered. It may probably be taken as an axiom that no architect would make use of stone, at any rate internally, were marble equally available; and that the necessity of colour consequently arises from the use of stone. The substitution of marble for stone resolves itself, therefore, into a question of cost. But the entire substitution of one material for the other is not necessary. A surface of marble may be substituted for a surface of stone, and the cost be thereby greatly lessened. The extent to which this substitution should be carried is also a question for the architect.

Designs
for
mosaics.

The terrifying spectre of 'sprawling saints' and emblematic figures thus entirely vanishes, for it is obvious that, as a general rule, it is only in mosaics that figures can be introduced. It is true that the designs for the mosaics, whether in the Dome, the Cupolas, or the Spandrels, will require artistic skill of the highest excellence for their production; but it is equally clear that they will not easily give room for extravagances representing peculiar ideas as to worship or doctrine.

Pavement.

There is another matter to which the architect will naturally give his attention, and that is the pavement.

On the proper treatment of this part of the building the general effect will greatly depend.

It is obvious that the foregoing remarks by no means exhaust the subject, the question as to sculpture ex-

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XIV. ternally and internally, among others, being entirely omitted; but they, probably to some extent, indicate the 'general principles' on which the 'adornment of St. Paul's' may be carried out. I offer them with diffidence, and only as my own opinions.

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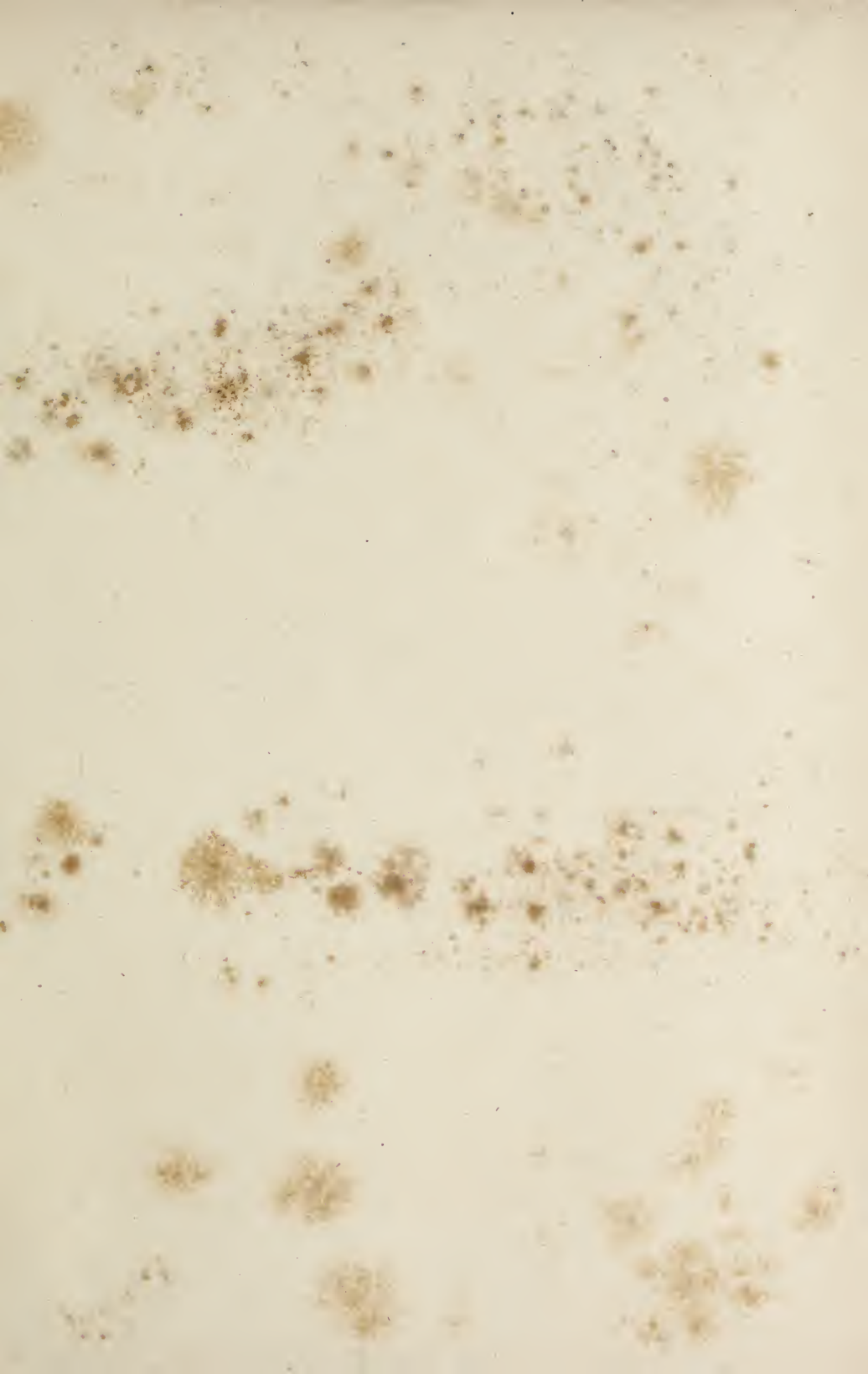
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